The Nation

FOUNDED 1865

Vol. CXII NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 29, 1921 No. 2921

Contents

EDITORIAL PARAGRAPHS 903

EDITORIALS:
- The Business Crisis 906
- "Liberating" Santo Domingo 907
- Beating as One 907
- The Frightened Analyst 908

THE ERUPTION OF TULSA. By Walter F. White..... 909

ORPHANS AS GUINEA PIGS. By Konrad Bercovici..... 911

CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN NOVELISTS. VI. JAMES BRANCH CABELL. By Carl Van Doren..... 914

THERE *IS* POLAND. By Cedric Fauntleroy..... 916

IN THE DRIFTWAY. By the Drifter..... 918

CORRESPONDENCE 918

THE EARTH WILL STAY THE SAME. By Frank Ernest Hill..... 920

BOOKS:
- Goethe and Ourselves. By Ludwig Lewisohn..... 920
- Creators as Critics. By Ben Ray Redman..... 921
- Notable New Books..... 921

ART:
- Public, Painter, and Dealer. By James N. Rosenberg..... 922

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SECTION:
- The Socialist Communes of Italy..... 923
- Italian Labor's Policy 925
- Election Manifestos in Italy..... 926
- The Nobility of Violence..... 928
- Fascisti Tactics 929

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, EDITOR

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

LEWIS S. GANNETT FREDA KIRCHWEY
ARTHUR WARNER LUDWIG LEWISOHN

ERNEST H. GRUENING, MANAGING EDITOR
CARL VAN DOREN, LITERARY EDITOR

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JOHN A. HOBSON ANATOLE FRANCE H. L. MENCKEN
FRIEDRICH WILHELM FOERSTER ROBERT HERRICK

SUBSCRIPTION RATES—Five dollars per annum postpaid in the United States and Mexico; to Canada, $5.50, and to foreign countries of the Postal Union, $6.00.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York City. Cable Address: NATION, New York. Chicago Office: 1170 People's Gas Building. British Agent for Subscriptions and Advertising: Ernest Thurtle, 36 Temple, Fortune Hill, N. W. 4, England.

HOW cruelly unkind is Hamilton Holt! He has deliberately tried to put President Harding in a hole by insisting that the President fish or cut bait in matters foreign. He points out that as Senator Mr. Harding voted to have the United States enter the League with the Lodge amendments and that during the campaign and after the election he gracefully sat on the fence allowing Hughes and Hoover to assure the country that he would go into the League with amendments and Borah and Johnson to assert that he would not. If Mr. Harding does not soon outline to America the association of nations he has promised, "people," says the editor of the *Independent*, "will inevitably conclude that you [the President] have no concrete plan at all or else you propose to put party harmony above world welfare." If the people are really as thoughtful as that on this subject, Mr. Harding is in for a bad time; but what we suspect is that the people knew all along that Mr. Harding did not have any plan at all, and did not care whether he did or did not, or for anything except to get rid of Woodrow Wilson and all his works. But Mr. Holt is right in making it clear that if Mr. Harding would rank as a statesman at all he must soon produce something constructive and take some position and hold it. Straddling may be delightful exercise but after a while it is bound to fail and to evoke anything but feelings of respect. The Republican committeemen who came together in Washington the other day also thought it was about time for Mr. Harding to do something somehow somewhere besides talking of sweetness and light.

ONE good thing Mr. Harding has done; he has given a fine send-off to the commission to reorganize the Government in Washington and what has leaked out about the plans of the commission sounds altogether encouraging. One suggestion is that the War and Navy Departments be combined in one Department of National Defense, which would have the extraordinary merit of retiring to private life either Secretary Denby or Secretary Weeks—the public wins in either case. Again we are promised the proposed Department of Public Welfare and the reorganization of the Department of the Interior as a Department of Public Works. It is a long, long way from proposing such a plan to enacting it, but the prospect of some action was never so hopeful. On the other hand, we cannot say that the President's action in regard to our shipping reveals either a close study of the existing situation or any realization of the difficulty of disposing of the Shipping Board's costly fleet. We take from the New York *Times* its account of the President's talk to the Washington correspondents:

> The President made a little speech saying the decks had been cleared for the Board's work by charging off the Shipping Board losses due to the war endeavor, and the Board would be operated on a dependable modern basis. The Board, he said, had already learned that the shipping of the world was never in a greater slump than at present. Mr. Harding said that the Administration was back of it in every way possible, with increased energy for the creation of an American merchant marine. He did not expect this to be done, however, by the waving of a magic wand. The Administration wanted to build up the merchant marine on the natural and dependable foundation of American commercial aspiration. He had invited the Board to clear the deck and start afresh.

MOST gratifying was Mr. Lloyd George's announcement, at the opening of the Premiers' Conference, of the readiness of his Government "to discuss with American statesmen any proposal for limitation of armaments they may wish to set out, and we can undertake that no such overtures will find lack of willingness on our part to meet them." If after this President Harding can delay a day longer in acting in the spirit of the Borah resolution, he is betraying the country he is supposed to serve. Here is an opportunity really to extend hands across the sea in a way to free both countries from intolerable tax burdens and to advance immeasurably the peace of the world. How can Mr. Harding hesitate? Most encouraging, too, is Mr. Lloyd George's assurance that in no quarter of the globe does England more greatly desire "to maintain peace and fair play for all nations and avoid competition in armaments than the Pacific and Far East." Coming on top of Mr. Austen Chamberlain's public statement that England is contemplating no alliance in the Pacific which might bring her into conflict with the United States, this clears the air tremendously. For notice is now served upon Japan that England will make no agreement to aid her in case of a conflict with the United States and upon us that there exists no sound reason for wasting endless millions on forts, docks, bases, and fleets in the Pacific. For all of this we give profound thanks.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WRITING in the New York *Globe*, Mr. Herbert Corey declares that the $650,000,000 we are spending on battleships is just money thrown away, for there is every reason to believe that they will be out of date when they are completed. He insists that in another war the battleship fleet will have to be locked up in harbors precisely as it was in the last save for the one battle. He declares that if we went to war with Japan the two battleship fleets would not dare to cross the Pacific in search of each other for fear of submarines and aircraft, and he cites Vice-Admiral Mark Kerr of the British Navy as saying that "such an invading fleet would be whittled away" before it arrived. There are many besides Admiral Kerr in the British service who openly say that the battleship is a total back number. France as a nation has evidently arrived at this decision because it is officially announced that her new naval budget is to provide only for aircraft and submarines. England has appropriated only $10,000,000 for new capital ships and will not lay the keels until next fall. But we are to go on wasting the funds of our people in this utterly needless, wicked, and wanton way. We believe that one reason is simply that our naval officers fear a loss of prestige and importance if they give up the battleship. Meanwhile it is declared in Washington that after spending $150,000,000 on submarines we have only one fit to cruise the oceans as the Germans did.

IN the perpetual checker game going on between the Powers—those we are pleased to call the "great" Powers—the principal pawns on the board at present are Silesia and the Near East. France shoves Silesia along a square and Great Britain jumps her man with the Turkish question—and so it goes. Whether war or peace is to be the result of these moves is beside the immediate point. Two questions, about as unrelated as two international questions could possibly be, are thrown together and the fate of one is made to hang on the fate of the other. Just now the die seems cast for peace in the Near East. The French are opposed to Greek ambitions in Asia Minor and have established friendly relations with Kemal as a protection to their interests in the direction of Syria. Great Britain wants to keep the Young Turks out of the Porte—no strong government would be tolerated at that strategic point—but she might not be averse to handing over Smyrna and perhaps the rest of Anatolia to Kemal as a consolation prize. And Kemal will probably allow himself to be consoled, for the time being, if the prize is large enough. As for Constantine and his militant ambitions, he is in the unfortunate position of having little to say in the matter. The whole future of his country is mortgaged to the great Powers and England holds the purse-strings. So, after all, there may be peace, and we shall have a chance to be thankful for a few weeks until the trouble starts again.

DURING one hundred and eleven years of Haitian independence no American was ever killed in Haiti. Despite an occasional opera-bouffe revolution between political parties the lives of foreigners and their property were conspicuously safe in this little Caribbean republic—far more so than in the public streets of the American metropolis today. Now Harris Lifschitz, an American citizen, has been murdered in Haiti under circumstances shrouded in mystery. He was known for his serious indictment of the American military occupation, for his charges of brutality, drunkenness, and general misconduct against a Marine officer. Who killed Lifschitz? Either Haitians or Americans—there is no other alternative, except possibly that the brain which instigated the foul deed belonged to one group, the hand which executed it, to another. In any case this crime calls for thorough investigation. For six years and until the recent presidential campaign, events in Haiti were concealed by military censorship, which, now that the Haitian elections are approaching, has been reestablished. And the commanding officer of the Marines in Haiti is the last person qualified to make such an investigation.

AMIDST general enthusiasm, England grants a constitution and dominion status to—keep your seats, dear friends—England grants a constitution and dominion status to Malta. Bad-boy Ireland still limps along refusing nice good Home Rule when he might have it just because he couldn't have it when he wanted it, while prim, orderly little-girl Malta receives this nice plum without tears or blood or oaths or secret societies or any of the unpleasant things of life. It may be that Malta, though even more ancient than Ireland, having been under British rule only since 1814, has not had time to be disorderly. But whatever the reason, the most amicable relations seem to exist between Malta and Great Britain, and by the "Malta Constitution Letters Patent, 1921" this interesting little island of some quarter of a million people, whose earliest known inhabitants were Phoenicians and which has since then been variously under the rule of Greece, Carthage, Rome, the Byzantine Empire, the Arabs, the French, and the Knights of the Order of St. John (by a grant of the Emperor Charles V), has now become a member of the British Empire in good standing with all the rights appertaining thereto. Ireland remains out in the cold with India.

AS predicted in these columns, American oil interests in Mexico have for the moment forgotten the sinfulness of Article 27 of the national constitution, and have discovered that a simple little increase in export taxes is equally violative of international law and an act of bad faith subversive of the interests of humanity. When the 25 per cent increase in export taxes on petroleum was first announced, it was said in Washington that as taxation was universally conceded to be a question of purely national concern, our Government was not likely to make any protest on behalf of the oil interests. Later on, however, Secretary Hughes decided to hear the latter's representatives, who are declaring that President Obregon's decree is both "unconstitutional" and "confiscatory." When the pocket nerve of big business is touched in a weak country, our captains of industry can be relied upon to discover that Christian civilization and the American home are imperiled. Article 27 and Tax 25 (per cent) provide equal and interchangeable excuses for armed invasion.

MEANWHILE oil producers in this country are not slow to see the advantage accruing to them through the higher taxes placed on Mexican petroleum, and are using their influence in favor of a "hands off" policy on the part of our Government. Oil associations of Oklahoma, Kansas, Texas, and Louisiana have sent a communication to Secretary Hughes in which they ask him not to protest against the tax decree of President Obregon. In regard to American producers in Mexico they say: "These selfish interests absorb the markets of our country with cheaply produced

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and cheaply transported products of Mexico, upon which they pay no taxes in this country, and ask the Government of the United States to aid them in avoiding taxation in Mexico." This is sound sense, even though it does come from business rivals. Nor should the American public forget that the announced purpose of the higher taxes is to resume interest payments on the Mexican debt—an object that would ordinarily entitle it to high praise, especially in Wall Street.

THE Ku Klux Klan is triumphant in Texas. Lynch law reigns, not only for the brutal enforcement of recognized statutes, but also for the enforcement of fancied violations of community taboos. Between the two "offenses" no distinction has been observed. Within a short period, mobs in five Texas towns—thrice in Dallas and four times in Houston—have lashed, tarred and feathered, mutilated, and branded ten men, eight of them whites. Branding and mutilation were inflicted only on the Negroes. A few instances of occasions that aroused the Texas Klans will be sufficient. R. H. Lenert, a life-time resident of Brenham, was whipped, tarred, and feathered on the night of June 8 because he spoke German. Edward Engers of Dallas was flogged with a heavy lash for a yet unnamed reason. He had recently been divorced from his wife and acquitted of a lunacy charge. W. J. Boyd, a Houston attorney, was horsewhipped the same night because he annoyed girls. B. L. Hobbs, an attorney of the same city, was tarred and feathered several months before because he had participated in Negro lawsuits. Only in the case of Dr. J. S. Paul, of Beaumont, who was tarred and feathered, is there any likelihood of punishment of the guilty. Throughout, Governor Neff has remained silent.

O FOR Mark Twain! Only his pen, we think, could do justice to the sentencing of Edward Garman to seven additional months in the Northumberland, Pennsylvania, County Prison. For what? For inciting to escape? For assaulting a warden with murderous intent? Oh, dear no. For something far more diabolical than that. His new crime was the organization *in the jail* of a complete branch —so runs the dispatch—of the I. W. W., with office files and records complete. Right under the nose of the warden was this atrocity committed. Of course, there was no special law to punish the villain for this particular malfeasance, but the judge was on the job. Why he did not sentence him to death we cannot understand. He could not have been a hundred per cent American judge or he would have known that any wretch who exposes our courts, our prisons, and our jailers to laughter and derision strikes a deadly blow at the foundations of our society and deserves no mercy, especially if he gives aid and comfort to those who insist that putting a man behind prison bars for holding social and economic beliefs you do not like is without curative value.

JOHN R. THOMPSON, of Chicago, the owner of a string of restaurants which bear his name, has inserted an advertisement in the Chicago papers offering one thousand dollars to anyone who will give him one good reason for the private manufacture of revolvers in America and for the use of the mails by the manufacturers. While heartily applauding Mr. Thompson's stand, *The Nation* knows, as he himself doubtless does, that his money is quite safe. There is no good reason. And there are any number of bad ones. The restrictions against carrying revolvers are violated every day. Almost anyone can get a permit to carry one; every pawnshop has them for sale. And the result is not only an appalling amount of gun-play with murderous intent that is only too often realized, but an unending series of revolvers being pointed by someone thinking "it wasn't loaded" at someone else, and the inevitable fatalities which occur as a consequence. The shocking number of recent cases in which children have been involved in accidents of this sort should give anyone pause for thought. The only remedy is to stop the private manufacture of revolvers. If Mr. Thompson's offer succeeds in arousing public opinion in this matter he will have done a service to humanity.

LITERARY theories are being debated in Continental Europe with uncommon intensity. The neo-romantics and expressionists are being succeeded, at least in theory, by a neo-classic revival, and the Parisian *La Renaissance* thought the ensuing controversy important enough for the issuing of a questionnaire. Among the many answers the most admirable and the sanest is that of André Gide, which is worth quoting in part for the light it throws upon controversies not wholly unknown among ourselves. "The questions you put to me," M. Gide wrote, "are not applicable to France alone. Did France itself have greater representatives of true classicism than Raphael, Goethe, or Mozart? True classicism is not the result of an external compulsion. Such compulsions result in artifice and in merely academic works. . . . True classicism admits nothing that is limiting or oppressive. It is not preserver and creator in equal measure; it repudiates mere archaism and refuses to believe that everything has been said. Nothing becomes classical through an intention. The true classics became so despite their will and without their knowledge."

HERE follows a most topical new ballad upon former Governor Coolidge and his use of the Contingent Fund of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to purchase certain commodities of a reasonably private and personal nature—the ballad to be patriotically sung to the tune of Yankee Doodle:

"Have faith in me," said Honest Cal,
  And bought himself a few sets
Of handkerchiefs and photographs
  All charged to Massachusetts.

    Honest Calvin, keep it up,
      Honest Calvin dandy!
    Save your dollars and your cents,
      And with the Fund be handy.

Honest Cal is worried now;
  A very crimson hue sets
In to paint his marble brow—
  'Twas made in Massachusetts.

Says he: "I cannot understand!"
  Says he: "I'll get some new sets
Of friends who have, like me, more faith,
  More faith in Massachusetts."

    Honest Calvin, keep it up,
      Honest Calvin dandy!
    Buy your gum yourself but let
      The Bay State buy your candy.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Business Crisis

FOR once a Republican President has come into office in bad times and failed to improve them. The partly filled dinner-pail becomes emptier; grave unemployment grows, and, if the bank situation has distinctly improved, Wall Street is worse off than ever and so is industry generally. Six months ago everyone was saying: "Just wait until Harding gets into the White House and the turn of the tide will come." The public has now learned the needed lesson, despite weekly optimistic statements from the White House, that this alarming industrial and financial situation, a necessary and just consequence of the folly of war, is not to be altered by a change of Administration in Washington, or by the supplanting of one President by another. Humanity cannot burn up its resources as the world has done and expect prosperity soon thereafter; nor can the readjustment be an easy one. Indeed, bankers and business men who a short while ago were pooh-poohing the idea of a long-continued depression now talk of three and four years of it.

The truth is that if it were not for the Federal Reserve System it would be everywhere recognized that this is the worst financial crisis the country has known. In his defense of the capitalistic system last winter, Professor E. R. A. Seligman used the statistics of commercial failures during the panics of recent years to prove that these recurrent depressions are becoming less and less severe. The value of this index is questionable at best; this year, owing to the concerted efforts of the banks to "carry" those in trouble, the figures as to failures are entirely misleading. Whole industries, like the fur business, if forced to liquidate now would show insolvency. It has been wise policy to carry them; otherwise panic conditions must have resulted. As it is many of the "frozen" credits have been thawed. But still the situation remains grave. Our ocean traffic is almost dead and our railroads are in a parlous state. There is no sign of recovery in the iron and steel industries which were laggards in cutting prices. In the building field the production of structural steel was 50,800 tons in May as against 55,900 tons in April—only 28 per cent of normal. In the automobile industry the price-cutting has not yet produced the desired effect. There is a lessened desire for new cars, a marked decrease in the ability to purchase, and a holding off by many who believe that there must be still further reductions in prices.

What is true of these businesses is true of many others. The electrical industry, the manufacturers of agricultural machinery, tractors, and tools, the shipbuilding yards, to cite only a few, are severely affected. Copper and iron mining has suffered greatly; many great mines are shut down without prospect of reopening in the near future. The mail-order houses, an excellent index of the spending power of the masses, are only beginning to recover from the shock of the great fall in prices which compelled them to cut their inventories to pieces. Even the publishing business is severely affected. Some of the popular magazines lag unprecedentedly on the newsstands and are losing subscriptions, while the daily press suffers from a marked falling off in advertising. The cotton situation is bad and the sugar barons have lost fortunes—to nobody's regret. Fortunately, the country is without devastating strikes. The fear of further unemployment does more than the open-shop movement or other machinations to bring about wage decreases without strife. In the Middle West farming communities there is unheard-of money tightness, the bottom has dropped out of the boom in land, and banks and farmers alike are hard hit by the drop in wholesale prices and by the crippling freight rates. But the crop situation is excellent; if the farmer is rapidly losing hope of achieving an adequate reward for his unremitting toil he has good harvests—save where the fruit orchards have been damaged—to look forward to, and labor bids fair to be plentiful because of urban unemployment. But the agricultural problem is merely intensified by the existing crisis. Its fundamental difficulties demand far more than the return of "good" times. If anyone doubts that let him read the letter from a North Dakota farmer printed in our correspondence columns. To cooperation—cooperative buying and selling—the farmers must turn in increasing numbers if they would find the way out. The recent formation of a great cooperative financial enterprise and the creation of a $50,000,000 cattle-loan pool are encouraging signs of the times. But the falling off of agricultural exports by $136,000,000 in the month of May as contrasted with May, 1920, tells its own story.

It is our belief that recovery from all this great distress must be slow and that we shall be fortunate if approximate economic "normalcy" returns within two years. It is easy, of course, to talk about reduced stocks and to show how buying must soon set in of such a commodity as pig-iron. But a large part of the world has, thanks to the war, learned how to get on without a good many things, or with much less of them than had been deemed possible. Stocks have a way of lasting much longer than was anticipated. The farmers this year, for instance, will buy no new tractors or costly machinery. Nor will the emergency tariff greatly help them. The announcement that the passage of the bill has sent the price of a box of lemons in New York from $2 to $5 up to $10 to $12 throws a flood of light on how the public is mulcted by tariffs and how the cost of living is raised. It is not higher tariffs that the country now needs but their total abolition. That would be the best possible cure for our bad times. But there are other remedies. We should have trade with Russia as soon as it can be brought about. Reduction of the cost of government when so much of it goes to totally unproductive military and naval expenditure would quickly improve conditions, and so would prompt action by Congress on some of the tax reforms urged by Secretary Mellon. A widespread decrease in the purchase of luxuries would be well worth while. The immediate reduction of passenger and freight rates on our railroads would at once benefit the public and, we believe, the railroads themselves. Again an improvement in European conditions would immediately be reflected on this side of the ocean. Hence, if Mr. Harding wishes to move effectively toward a business recovery, he should use the influence of the United States to insist on the ending of hostilities in Europe and Asia Minor and the abolition of trade restrictions everywhere. For the present, no one can be certain that we have really reached the bottom of the pit and begun the slow climb up again. It can only be said that the indications are that way; but there is still an enormous readjustment of values to be brought about.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Liberating" Santo Domingo

THE United States, the State Department announces, is withdrawing from Santo Domingo, and the daily press, especially the Republican press, is moralizing on the high virtue of the Republican Administration in thus undoing the grievous wrong perpetrated by Woodrow Wilson's party. (Nothing is said about getting out of Haiti.) Under the terms of the proposed withdrawal a joint commission will superintend the evacuation, the Americans to be selected by our Navy Department, and the Dominicans to be *appointed by the Military Governor*. Was ever a joint commission from two countries appointed entirely by the authority of only one of them?

As conditions of the withdrawal we find: "I. Ratification of all of the acts of the Military Government." A happy inspiration! For five years following an illegal and totally unjustifiable invasion and conquest, Santo Domingo, under a cover of a strict censorship, ruled by an absolute, tyrannical, and stupid military despotism, has been wrecked, looted, tortured. Hundreds of her citizens have been killed; arson and robbery have been committed. Incompetents, and worse, have squandered the funds—the Dominican funds—which have been dispensed by American political hangers-on of inferior type. All this is now to be ratified. The Dominicans are asked as a part of the price of their freedom to make the record of the American occupation appear as the driven snow. Something at least did the United States learn at Versailles! Writing history at the point of a pistol may hardly measure up to the ordinary canons of morality or stand the test of time, but for the moment it saves faces, perpetuates myths, and is vastly less expensive than paying the heavy claims which any impartial international court would assuredly award the Dominicans.

The second condition requires validation of the $2,500,000 loan negotiated by the "United States Military Government of Santo Domingo" in behalf of the Dominican Republic, the terms of which have just been made public. It is virtually guaranteed by the United States and nets interest, varying with the different maturities, from 18.91 per cent to 9.7 per cent. A nice financial plum, for which the Dominicans pay! Against this loan are pledged the total custom receipts of Santo Domingo, to be administered by a general receiver of customs, an American appointed by the United States and responsible solely to it. And as if this were not mortgaging the Republic of Santo Domingo sufficiently, it is also provided that his powers may be extended "to the collection and disbursement of such portion of the internal revenue of the Republic as may prove necessary should the customs revenue at any time be insufficient."

Finally, there is the clause which obligates the Dominican Republic, "in order to preserve peace, to afford adequate protection to life and property, etc. . . . to maintain an efficient Guardia Nacional." Seems reasonable, does it not? The country that boasts a Tulsa surely may demand that much. Yes, but until such time as the Dominicans are "competent to undertake such service the desired organization will be effected with American officers . . ." whose expenses "will be paid by the Dominican Republic." Of course, if this clause were really carried out in good faith there might be no serious objection to it. But American good faith has depreciated in the Caribbean to about the level of the Russian ruble. Moreover, an exact precedent as to the value of this particular arrangement exists. Precisely the same plan was forced on the Haitians, but to this day former privates of the United States Marine Corps are officers in the Haitian Gendarmerie, while educated Haitians, graduates of the famous French military academy at St. Cyr, have not yet, after six years, been found "competent."

What a farce it all is! Why isn't this great country of ours big enough and honorable enough to say to this tiny republic: "We have wronged you greatly. In our name unpardonable things have been done. We owe you profound apology, complete restoration of your sovereignty, and all humanly possible amends." How simple it would be! What would it not do to reestablish the good name of the United States throughout the world, and to give our citizens an ideal of deeds—not empty words and oratorical bombast—to cling to, to work for, to stand by! In terms of materialistic self-interest it would be worth millions of dollars in South American good-will alone. For no Latin-American is in the dark about our crimes in the Caribbean. Meanwhile, there is every likelihood that even the sorely oppressed Dominicans will refuse to pay the price demanded by virtue of our superior strength for their semblance of liberty. We hope they will decline. Their experience with the United States has been bitter enough, and their love of independence should be sufficiently deep-seated to refuse to compromise.

Beating With a Single Thought

THE Prussians, we seem to remember hearing some one say, had an abominable fashion of public education which regimented the population of their kingdom into a uniform mass of patriots advancing at the pretty gait known as the goose-step and singing Deutschland über Alles in damnable accord. It was to break up that unity grown aggressive that we went, or we were told we went, to war. But in war one always trades, it seems, with the enemy, no matter what the prohibitions; and now on every hand we see vehement Americans demanding for our schools and colleges the unanimity of opinion which made Prussia what it was—and is. School boards discipline teachers who hint to any of their pupils that our Government or our social order has any imperfections. College presidents who had nothing to say when Messrs. Burleson and Palmer cracked the Constitution wide open now announce with commencement rodomontade that no criticism of the Constitution will ever be permitted within the halls they dominate. Legislatures enact preposterous and yet pernicious laws to save the young from ever hearing that as a nation we have ever had, now have, or possibly can have any faults whatever. Philander P. Claxton, on the whole an excellent Commissioner of Education, has resigned, doubtless in response to hints that his job was wanted for some one else whose mind would go more nearly along with the President's. His successor, one John J. Tigert of Kentucky, declares that he will consecrate the office partly to waging war, with oratory and motion picture, "on communism, bolshevism, socialism, and all forms of government that do not recognize the rights of property and the right of genius to its just reward." If the simple forms of radicalism against which the Commissioner will fulminate were as

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dangerous as he makes them out, the United States would be on its last legs, tottering to its tomb.

In the midst of this illiterate din it is a pleasure to hear President Lowell of Harvard uttering as he so often utters, admirably liberal counsels:

> What we need now is not more organization or more machinery, but more thought; personal thought, clear, far-reaching, and profound, as unbiased and illumined and, not least, as widespread among our people as possible, for in the multitude of the wise is the welfare of the world. . . . Most people, and perhaps in a peculiar degree the American people, tend in the busy life of the world to save themselves from strenuous thought by taking refuge in the opinions of their associates. . . . This saves some of them, indeed, from eccentricity and from irrational extremes; but it does not absolve men from responsibility for the correctness of their opinion or save the nation from the consequences of their errors. The fact that others make the same mistake is no excuse. Yet people who go with the prevailing current of opinion seldom feel any responsibility, still less contrition, when that current leads to wrongdoing or disaster. . . . Corporate or cooperative selfishness is today a greater danger than personal selfishness, because it is more insidious, and wears the garb of something more noble than a mere personal aim. Although men are by nature gregarious creatures they should not, like sheep, move under the simple impulse of the mass. Man has the ability to think for himself, to weigh reasons, to forecast in some degree the future, and to reflect upon the consequences of his acts. In times like these it is of vital import that his responsibility for his individual opinions should be relentlessly asserted. Clamor of a crowd is often mistaken for opinion. The art of producing the semblance of a public opinion by a general shout has progressed greatly within a generation. It is easy to provoke such a shout for a catchword which embodies a principle good in itself, without a perception on the part of the crowd that it has its limit, and that they are in effect being urged beyond that limit. . . . Let us not suppose that because psychology of crowds is a fact its results are therefore right; or that, because organization and machinery furnish a powerful weapon for propagating ideas on the part of those who believe in them, the ideas are therefore correct. The weapon may be used for an unjust or unwise movement as well as for one that is just and wise.

Some time we may begin to realize that opinion is not opinion at all when it is mere agreement with opinions generally held; in that case it is simply a habit, an activity of the mental muscles, and so is utterly without the right to force itself upon the minds of people of different beliefs. Yet it is precisely such opinions that are always tyrannical, and the best motives possible cannot excuse the undertaking, in Prussia or America, to whip all thinking into one monotonous uniformity. Nor can our reactionaries make their peace with decency by admiring the dead radicals who in the past have cut new paths. What earthly reason is there for thinking that if Socrates in 1921 should stand in his rough clothes in Madison Square and question all things in heaven and earth, he would not be taken up by the police or beaten by members of the American Legion, or that, if he were a professor as he might now be, he would not be dismissed from his chair by the aroused alumni and trustees? Or for that matter, what earthly reason is there for thinking that if Jesus of Nazareth should return to earth he would have a ghost of a chance, covered with the dust of Galilean roads, to obtain an audience with the Pope of Rome or the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of New York or any other prince or lord or magnate of His Church?

The Frightened Analyst

CHARLATANS may discredit psychoanalysis. But the disciples who betray a master or a doctrine through ignorance or folly do but little injury in the long run. In the practice of the psychoanalytical method itself there lurks a difficulty and a contradiction of which Freud himself shows an occasional and uneasy consciousness. Precisely as the critic who accepts literature as it is incurs the reproaches of the pseudo-classicist for not wanting it to be nobler and more in conformity with fixed models, so the psychoanalyst is often in danger of being called infamous both by the public and by not a few fellow physicians because he cannot make human nature over into the image of their kindly but baseless ideals. He is a gentleman; he is probably a member of a medical faculty. His social and professional honor is implicated with assumptions which he constantly finds to be violently untrue. He discovers, in fact, that these very assumptions are, in a great number of cases, the causes of the illness he is asked to cure. He silences the stubborn inner censor; he reveals the obscure, subconscious ache. Then, in the subtlest and most serious cases, he must himself assume the censor's role and, like any country-practitioner, prescribe purgatives and exercise.

He is driven into a corner. Thus a patient who had lost all power of enjoying life and feared for the extinction of consciousness itself through the blunting of all normal stimuli, went for help to a distinguished psychoanalyst. The case was really as plain as a pike-staff and all that the over-scrupulous patient wanted was a scientific confirmation of the obvious sources of his malady. But the patient's case and cure involved a social problem hedged about by the fiercest taboos and the toughest hypocrisies. For a number of sessions the doctor hid himself in a veil of silence and kindly observation. Finally he spoke—equivocally and in parables. The patient, knowing himself fully understood, found relief in that mere fact. The doctor's parables had, after all, been plain enough. Alas, that very plainness evidently troubled the eminent but respectable leech. He hastened by letter to assure a member of the patient's family of the precise contrary of all he had given the patient to understand. His real opinion was buried in the silence of the consultation chamber; his written words vindicated him as a gentleman of decent, normal, Main Street views.

The situation is not new. Every advance in science and in thought is accompanied by such personal dilemmas. The privately heterodox clergyman who wants to keep his job cannot reveal his true opinions to a doubting parishioner; the professor of economics who has given hostages to fortune is often driven to teach error and withhold truth; during the war men who did not share the prevalent psychosis communicated even with each other in fear and trembling. It is worth remembering that the practitioner of psychoanalysis is in the same case. Only he comes into conflict with prejudices even more deeply intrenched and more fiercely guarded. Human nature does not seem degraded to him; he is at the mercy of those to whom it does. He is like those Victorian biologists who were sneeringly asked whether they expected decent people to credit the simian origin of man. Well, decent people came gradually to credit something quite like that. Similarly the psychoanalyst's equivocations are part of an old, unhappy human process and do not diminish the healing truth he brings.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Eruption of Tulsa

By WALTER F. WHITE

A HYSTERICAL white girl related that a nineteen-year-old colored boy attempted to assault her in the public elevator of a public office building of a thriving town of 100,000 in open daylight. Without pausing to find whether or not the story was true, without bothering with the slight detail of investigating the character of the woman who made the outcry (as a matter of fact, she was of exceedingly doubtful reputation), a mob of 100-per-cent Americans set forth on a wild rampage that cost the lives of fifty white men; of between 150 and 200 colored men, women and children; the destruction by fire of $1,500,000 worth of property; the looting of many homes; and everlasting damage to the reputation of the city of Tulsa and the State of Oklahoma.

This, in brief, is the story of the eruption of Tulsa on the night of May 31 and the morning of June 1. One could travel far and find few cities where the likelihood of trouble between the races was as little thought of as in Tulsa. Her reign of terror stands as a grim reminder of the grip mob violence has on the throat of America, and the ever-present possibility of devastating race conflicts where least expected.

Tulsa is a thriving, bustling, enormously wealthy town of between 90,000 and 100,000. In 1910 it was the home of 18,182 souls, a dead and hopeless outlook ahead. Then oil was discovered. The town grew amazingly. On December 29, 1920, it had bank deposits totaling $65,449,985.90; almost $1,000 per capita when compared with the Federal Census figures of 1920, which gave Tulsa 72,075. The town lies in the center of the oil region and many are the stories told of the making of fabulous fortunes by men who were operating on a shoe-string. Some of the stories rival those of the "forty-niners" in California. The town has a number of modern office buildings, many beautiful homes, miles of clean, well-paved streets, and aggressive and progressive business men who well exemplify Tulsa's motto of "The City with a Personality."

So much for the setting. What are the causes of the race riot that occurred in such a place?

First, the Negro in Oklahoma has shared in the sudden prosperity that has come to many of his white brothers, and there are some colored men there who are wealthy. This fact has caused a bitter resentment on the part of the lower order of whites, who feel that these colored men, members of an "inferior race," are exceedingly presumptuous in achieving greater economic prosperity than they who are members of a divinely ordered superior race. There are at least three colored persons in Oklahoma who are worth a million dollars each; J. W. Thompson of Clearview is worth $500,000; there are a number of men and women worth $100,000; and many whose possessions are valued at $25,000 and $50,000 each. This was particularly true of Tulsa, where there were two colored men worth $150,000 each; two worth $100,000; three $50,000; and four who were assessed at $25,000. In one case where a colored man owned and operated a printing plant with $25,000 worth of printing machinery in it, the leader of the mob that set fire to and destroyed the plant was a linotype operator employed for years by the colored owner at $48 per week. The white man was killed while attacking the plant. Oklahoma is largely populated by pioneers from other States. Some of the white pioneers are former residents of Mississippi, Georgia, Tennessee, Texas, and other States more typically southern than Oklahoma. These have brought with them their anti-Negro prejudices. Lethargic and unprogressive by nature, it sorely irks them to see Negroes making greater progress than they themselves are achieving.

One of the charges made against the colored men in Tulsa is that they were "radical." Questioning the whites more closely regarding the nature of this radicalism, I found it means that Negroes were uncompromisingly denouncing "Jim-Crow" cars, lynching, peonage; in short, were asking that the Federal constitutional guaranties of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" be given regardless of color. The Negroes of Tulsa and other Oklahoma cities are pioneers; men and women who have dared, men and women who have had the initiative and the courage to pull up stakes in other less-favored States and face hardship in a newer one for the sake of greater eventual progress. That type is ever less ready to submit to insult. Those of the whites who seek to maintain the old white group control naturally do not relish seeing Negroes emancipating themselves from the old system.

A third cause was the rotten political conditions in Tulsa. A vice ring was in control of the city, allowing open operation of houses of ill fame, of gambling joints, the illegal sale of whiskey, the robbing of banks and stores, with hardly a slight possibility of the arrest of the criminals, and even less of their conviction. For fourteen years Tulsa has been in the absolute control of this element. Most of the better element, and there is a large percentage of Tulsans who can properly be classed as such, are interested solely in making money and getting away. They have taken little or no interest in the election of city or county officials, leaving it to those whose interest it was to secure officials who would protect them in their vice operations. About two months ago the State legislature assigned two additional judges to Tulsa County to aid the present two in clearing the badly clogged dockets. These judges found more than six thousand cases awaiting trial. Thus in a county of approximately 100,000 population, six out of every one hundred citizens were under indictment for some sort of crime, with little likelihood of trial in any of them.

Last July a white man by the name of Roy Belton, accused of murdering a taxicab driver, was taken from the county jail and lynched. According to the statements of many prominent Tulsans, *local police officers directed traffic at the scene of the lynching*, trying to afford every person present an equal chance to view the event. Insurance companies refuse to give Tulsa merchants insurance on their stocks; the risk is too great. There have been so many automobile thefts that a number of companies have canceled all policies on cars in Tulsa. The net result of these conditions was that practically none of the citizens of the town, white or colored, had very much respect for the law.

So much for the general causes. What was the spark that set off the blaze? On Monday, May 30, a white girl

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by the name of Sarah Page, operating an elevator in the Drexel Building, stated that Dick Rowland, a nineteen-year-old colored boy, had attempted criminally to assault her. Her second story was that the boy had seized her arm as he entered the elevator. She screamed. He ran. It was found afterwards that the boy had stepped by accident on her foot. It seems never to have occurred to the citizens of Tulsa that any sane person attempting criminally to assault a woman would have picked any place in the world rather than an open elevator in a public building with scores of people within calling distance. The story of the alleged assault was published Tuesday afternoon by the Tulsa *Tribune*, one of the two local newspapers. At four o'clock Commissioner of Police J. M. Adkison reported to Sheriff McCullough that there was talk of lynching Rowland that night. Chief of Police John A. Gustafson, Captain Wilkerson of the Police Department, Edwin F. Barnett, managing editor of the Tulsa *Tribune*, and numerous other citizens all stated that there was talk Tuesday of lynching the boy.

In the meantime the news of the threatened lynching reached the colored settlement where Tulsa's 15,000 colored citizens lived. Remembering how a white man had been lynched after being taken from the same jail where the colored boy was now confined, they feared that Rowland was in danger. A group of colored men telephoned the sheriff and proffered their services in protecting the jail from attack. The sheriff told them that they would be called upon if needed. About nine o'clock that night a crowd of white men gathered around the jail, numbering about 400 according to Sheriff McCullough. At 9:15 the report reached "Little Africa" that the mob had stormed the jail. A crowd of twenty-five armed Negroes set out immediately, but on reaching the jail found the report untrue. The sheriff talked with them, assured them that the boy would not be harmed, and urged them to return to their homes. They left, later returning, 75 strong. The sheriff persuaded them to leave. As they complied, a white man attempted to disarm one of the colored men. A shot was fired, and then—in the words of the sheriff—"all hell broke loose." There was a fusillade of shots from both sides and twelve men fell dead—two of them colored, ten white. The fighting continued until midnight when the colored men, greatly outnumbered, were forced back to their section of the town.

Around five o'clock Wednesday morning the mob, now numbering more than 10,000, made a mass attack on Little Africa. Machine-guns were brought into use; eight aeroplanes were employed to spy on the movements of the Negroes and according to some were used in bombing the colored section. All that was lacking to make the scene a replica of modern "Christian" warfare was poison gas. The colored men and women fought gamely in defense of their homes, but the odds were too great. According to the statements of onlookers, men in uniform, either home guards or ex-service men or both, carried cans of oil into Little Africa, and, after looting the homes, set fire to them. Many are the stories of horror told to me—not by colored people—but by white residents. One was that of an aged colored couple, saying their evening prayers before retiring in their little home on Greenwood Avenue. A mob broke into the house, shot both of the old people in the backs of their heads, blowing their brains out and spattering them over the bed, pillaged the home, and then set fire to it.

Another was that of the death of Dr. A. C. Jackson, a colored physician. Dr. Jackson was worth $100,000; had been described by the Mayo brothers "the most able Negro surgeon in America"; was respected by white and colored people alike, and was in every sense a good citizen. A mob attacked Dr. Jackson's home. He fought in defense of it, his wife and children and himself. An officer of the home guards who knew Dr. Jackson came up at that time and assured him that if he would surrender he would be protected. This Dr. Jackson did. The officer sent him under guard to Convention Hall, where colored people were being placed for protection. En route to the hall, disarmed, Dr. Jackson was shot and killed in cold blood. The officer who had assured Dr. Jackson of protection stated to me, "Dr. Jackson was an able, clean-cut man. He did only what any red-blooded man would have done under similar circumstances in defending his home. Dr. Jackson was murdered by white ruffians."

It is highly doubtful if the exact number of casualties will ever be known. The figures originally given in the press estimate the number at 100. The number buried by local undertakers and given out by city officials is ten white and twenty-one colored. For obvious reasons these officials wish to keep the number published as low as possible, but the figures obtained in Tulsa are far higher. Fifty whites and between 150 and 200 Negroes is much nearer the actual number of deaths. Ten whites were killed during the first hour of fighting on Tuesday night. Six white men drove into the colored section in a car on Wednesday morning and never came out. Thirteen whites were killed between 5:30 a. m. and 6:30 a. m. Wednesday. O. T. Johnson, commandant of the Tulsa Citadel of the Salvation Army, stated that on Wednesday and Thursday the Salvation Army fed thirty-seven Negroes employed as grave diggers and twenty on Friday and Saturday. During the first two days these men dug 120 graves in each of which a dead Negro was buried. No coffins were used. The bodies were dumped into the holes and covered over with dirt. Added to the number accounted for were numbers of others—men, women, and children—who were incinerated in the burning houses in the Negro settlement. One story was told me by an eye-witness of five colored men trapped in a burning house. Four burned to death. A fifth attempted to flee, was shot to death as he emerged from the burning structure, and his body was thrown back into the flames. There was an unconfirmed rumor afloat in Tulsa of two truck loads of dead Negroes being dumped into the Arkansas River, but that story could not be confirmed.

What is America going to do after such a horrible carnage—one that for sheer brutality and murderous anarchy cannot be surpassed by any of the crimes now being charged to the Bolsheviki in Russia? How much longer will America allow these pogroms to continue unchecked? There is a lesson in the Tulsa affair for every American who fatuously believes that Negroes will always be the meek and submissive creatures that circumstances have forced them to be during the past three hundred years. Dick Rowland was only an ordinary bootblack with no standing in the community. But when his life was threatened by a mob of whites, every one of the 15,000 Negroes of Tulsa, rich and poor, educated and illiterate, was willing to die to protect Dick Rowland. Perhaps America is waiting for a nationwide Tulsa to wake her. Who knows?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Orphans as Guinea Pigs

By KONRAD BERCOVICI

THAT scurvy and rickets were induced in infants to prove that certain diets were responsible for those diseases has been known to the medical profession of this country ever since December, 1914. In that year an article entitled Infantile Scurvy: The Blood, the Blood-Vessels, and the Diet, by Alfred F. Hess, M.D., and Mildred Fish, of New York, appeared in the *American Journal of Diseases of Children*. The article was dated "From the Research Laboratory, Department of Health, New York City," and was followed by other articles detailing experiments carried out in the Hebrew Infant Asylum, or The Home for Hebrew Infants, as it is now called, on groups of infants from that institution.

It is of course understood that studies of the effects of different diets on children should be made, that conclusions drawn from experiments on animals are provisional and must await substantiation on man, but where the experiments lead to such diseases as scurvy and rickets, and the subjects are institutional infants and not volunteers, the end in view does not justify the method. I quote from an article[1] of Dr. A. F. Hess and Mildred Fish:

> Our study in the main is based on numerous cases of scurvy which have developed in the past few years in the Hebrew Infant Asylum. We are dealing, therefore, with a group of institutional infants concerning whom we have clinical records for a long period previous to the onset of the disease, and whose welfare we have been able to follow for many months following their recovery. *A number of these cases developed in the course of an attempt to dispense with the giving of orange juice.* In view of the fact that pasteurized milk is now heated to a temperature of only 145 F., which is claimed by many (including the commission on milk standards) not to destroy its chemical constituents, it seemed that infants should thrive on this milk without the addition of fruit juices to the diet. (Italics are mine.)

This "attempt to dispense with the giving of orange juice" while feeding pasteurized milk to the infants was followed by a number of similar attempts always with the same results: the children developed scurvy.

> In connection with scurvy [continues the same article] a study of *petechiae* [small hemorrhages] is of the greatest interest. In our experience they have been present very frequently in the earliest stages of the diseases. It is probable that their presence has not been emphasized in descriptions of this disease because they have not been sufficiently sought for. This year we had an exceptional opportunity of investigating this sign, as well as other early symptoms of the disease, when as stated above, we were making observations on a group of infants fed with milk which had been subjected to a moderate degree of temperature. As may be imagined, not only were petechial spots sought for almost daily, but all other early signs of disturbance of nutrition were examined for with regularity. . . . Post-mortem examinations show the same wide distribution of small hemorrhages. In almost all cases they have been found in the pleura, peritoneum, pericardium, in addition to the large extravasations which are found beneath the periosteum.

As can be seen, it was expected that the infants would develop scurvy in consequence of the diet given them, for all early symptoms of the disease were "sought for almost daily." Were the post-mortem examinations referred to made of those infants who had developed scurvy in the attempt to dispense with the giving of orange juice? That question remains to be answered.

> When one makes a subcutaneous puncture, for example, into the abdominal wall, in the case of an infant suffering from scurvy, it is found that very often a small hemorrhage develops at the site of the puncture wound. This is not the case when one makes a hypodermic or subcutaneous puncture in a normal person. It was thought that his observation might be of value in distinguishing early cases of scurvy, and, in fact, the first tests carried out with this object in view promised well for this method. In this case [that of an infant, 6 months old, admitted to the asylum in the spring of 1913] puncture tests of this kind resulted in a hemorrhagic reaction; as soon as orange juice was given the reaction ceased. More extensive trials with this puncture test, however, showed it to be unreliable.

Those children who had developed scurvy in the attempt to dispense with the giving of orange juice underwent another series of similar attempts. It was thought desirable to know also if children could have scurvy twice.

> Infant 6 months old weighing 10½ pounds in September, 1913, developed swelling above and below the knee, accompanied by marked tenderness. It had been getting Schloss milk[2] for one month. [Schloss milk, says Dr. Hess in another article,[3] is very prone to induce scurvy in infants.] When lemon juice was given and the food changed to two-thirds pasteurized milk and one-third barley water with sugar, the symptoms rapidly disappeared. *The lemon juice was discontinued at the beginning of January.* Six weeks later tenderness of the lower extremities was noted and a hemorrhagic reaction to subcutaneous puncture. In addition to the milk, the infant had received cod-liver oil and phosphorus for three weeks (this was done to avoid the complication of rickets; because it was Dr. Hess's theory to study the two diseases separately). Hemorrhage of the gums developed some weeks after this. At the time of the first attack of scurvy, the infant was 6 months old and weighed 10¼ pounds; at the time of the second attack it was 11 months old and weighed 14½ pounds. . . . We have had an exceptional opportunity to observe the disease from this point of view, especially during the past year where, for a time, *we were watching a group of infants to ascertain whether they would show any scorbutic* [pertaining to scurvy] *signs on discontinuing the giving of fruit juice.*

The literature on scurvy, three hundred years old, does not contain a single instance where children were experimented on in that way. That children who have suffered from scurvy frequently do not recover fully is maintained by Dr. Hess himself:[4]

> Even when the child recovers it may not gain its normal health if it has continued for a prolonged period in a state of chronic scurvy. It may remain pale and fail to gain in weight in spite of a liberal and well-balanced diet. . . . Cardiac disturbances occur also in infantile scurvy. . . . The heart may be rapid for months or even for years after the disorder, and tachicardia may develop on the occasion of even a mild infectious disease. . . . *Children so affected succumb readily to infection, especially to pneumonia, which may lead to sudden collapse followed by death. . . . Even latent or subacute scurvy causes a peculiar susceptibility to diphtheria* (especially the nasal types), to coryza, bronchitis, and pneumonia.

[1] *American Journal of Diseases of Children*, Dec., 1914, Vol. VIII, pp. 386-405.

[2] Schloss milk is a mixture in certain proportions of milk, cream, water, flour, dextrimaltose, plasmon, and potassium chlorate.

[3] Infantile Scurvy. A Study of Its Pathogenesis. *American Journal of Diseases of Children*, Nov., 1917, Vol. XIV.

[4] Hess, "Scurvy: Past and Present." Pp. 226-227. Lippincott.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

And, in the same volume, page 53, and in an article on Infantile Scurvy,[5] it is made plain that scurvy is present for a considerable time before any clinical symptoms appear and for some time after they disappear under treatment. In other words, changes are going on in the tissues of the body before the outward manifestation of the disease and after its apparent disappearance.

It is probable that although the symptoms of scurvy disappear with almost miraculous rapidity, after only a few days of the administration of orange juice or fresh vegetables, many of the cells of the body do not become normal for a far longer period. . . . [Blood] vessels show an abnormal permeability for some weeks after all symptoms have disappeared.[6]

Elsewhere in the same article Drs. Hess and Fish speak of other groups of children fed on Schloss milk and among other diets also malt soup, with the result that "all four children who were being fed on malt soup developed scurvy." This was still in an attempt to do without orange juice.

In November, 1917, Dr. Hess published another article[7] on infantile scurvy in which he relates further experiments proving that pasteurized milk prepared after special formulas induced scurvy. He knew beforehand that it might, because he quotes Neumann, Huebner, and Cassel who had studied an outbreak of infantile scurvy in Berlin.

For two years the milk which we used at the infant asylum was pasteurized commercially at 165 F. for thirty minutes; for two subsequent years the dealers raised it to a temperature of only 145 F. for thirty minutes. According to our experience, milk heated to the higher degree of temperature induces scurvy more readily than that which is brought to only 145, judging by the results of the four-year period. During the past year we have bought raw certified milk, the best milk which is sold in the city, and pasteurized it in the institution at 145 for thirty minutes. Various formulas were prepared with this milk, so that should any disorder develop we might be in a position to analyze the trouble and correct the dietary defect. Among six infants given milk which was pasteurized and prepared for feeding on the morning it was received, none developed scurvy. One infant in our institution which had been receiving commercially pasteurized milk for many months and which showed symptoms of subacute scurvy improved on this home pasteurized milk. It may be said, therefore, that this milk manifested almost no tendency to produce scurvy. How, then, did it differ from the commercially pasteurized milk which we had previously been buying? It differed mainly, as far as we can judge, in the interval which elapsed between the heating process and the consumption of the milk. In New York City the major portion of the bottled milk is Grade B, most of which is pasteurized after it reaches the city, soon after midnight; fully two-thirds of this milk is delivered to the consumer the same morning on which it is pasteurized; however, part of it is held over and delivered twenty-four hours later. The better milk, Grade A, is largely pasteurized in the country, so that an interval of twenty-four hours elapses between the heating and delivery. In order to reproduce these conditions, we held over some of the pasteurized milk for twenty-four hours on ice, so that it corresponded more closely to Grade A milk. Of eight infants who received formulas made with this type of milk (Pasteurized II) *two showed scorbutic signs which promptly yielded to orange juice.* In one of them the onset seemed to have been precipitated by an intercurrent infection of "grippe." Although these results point to the influence of the freshness or staleness of pasteurized milk, they likewise indicate that aging must be considered only a mild scorbutic agent. This deduction is forced on us by the mild nature of the scorbutic process, by the paucity of cases developing, and by the further observation that among eight other infants who were given the milk which had *been kept on the ice for forty-eight hours following pasteurization* (Pasteurized III), *only two evinced symptoms of subacute scurvy.* That aging affects raw milk similarly was shown by the fact that one baby *developed latent scurvy* among a group of four who were receiving Raw III milk, that is, certified milk which was kept for forty-eight hours on the ice before preparing the formula. This infant developed an eczematous skin condition, to which we have drawn attention before, and which we have frequently noted in association with scurvy. When orange juice was given the skin lesions disappeared, the general condition improved, and there was a marked gain in weight.

That the degree of heat to which the milk is subjected is not an all-important factor in rendering the dietary unsuitable was clearly shown in the cases of some infants that received milk which had been boiled for a period of five minutes. *After an interval of five months one well-nourished infant,* 11 *months of age and weighing* 18½ *pounds, showed pallor, some periosteal tenderness, slight peridental hemorrhage, and a rapid pulse.*

Further experiments with evaporated milk, Schloss milk, and Keller's malt soup are related. The result indicated that only malt soup could be relied upon always to induce scurvy. "It can be confidently stated that if infants are fed with this mixture of malt, flour, milk, potassium carbonate, and water for five to six months, especially if pasteurized milk is used, the majority will evince definite signs of scurvy."[8] Adherence to any one diet for five or six months would do that. The report of 1898 of the American Pediatric Society declared that "the development of the disease follows in each case the prolonged employment of some diet, unsuitable to the individual child."[9]

An epidemic of scurvy in the institution is then described. The infants were receiving formulas made from milk pasteurized at 165 F. for twenty minutes although the doctor knew that the antiscorbutic qualities of the milk are practically nullified at 145 F.

In February 12 infants in a ward developed fever and soon showed symptoms of various infections: otitis, pneumonia, nephritis, adenitis, etc. Three died of pneumonia, of the nine who recovered seven suffered from what we shall term infectious scurvy, meaning by this a type of the disorder brought about by superimposing a secondary infection on the primary nutritional disturbances.[10]

Three months later a second epidemic of "grippe" took place and three more infants developed scurvy. "In most of these instances, however, it should be noted that the infants had been receiving pasteurized milk for months, and the antiscorbutic foodstuff had been added but a few weeks previously," says Dr. Hess.

In the same article Dr. Hess states, "Scurvy is essentially a disorder characterized by malnutrition and not by hemorrhage, taking months to develop, and from a clinical point of view, frequently latent or subacute." . . . Infantile scurvy occurring in epidemic form is described. "This results when latent scurvy exists among a number of infants and an infectious disease such as grippe is superadded."

In another paper on scurvy[11] Dr. Hess tells of the disastrous results he had met in the attempt to dispense with the orange juice and to substitute yeast in the infants' diet.

[5] *American Journal of Diseases of Children,* Dec., 1914. Vol. VIII. [6] *Ibid.*

[7] *American Journal of Diseases of Children,* Nov., 1917, Vol. XIV, pp. 337-353, Infantile Scurvy, by A. F. Hess.

[8] *American Journal of Diseases of Children,* Nov., 1917, A. F. Hess.

[9] Rep. Am. Ped. Soc. Arch. Ped., July, 1898, p. 481.

[10] Infantile Scurvy. A Study of Its Pathogenesis. *American Journal of Diseases of Children,* Nov., 1917, Vol. XIV.

[11] Read in abstract before the Society for Experimental Biology and Medicine May 24, 1916. Proceedings 13, 145, and published in *Journal American Medical Association,* 1917—65, 1003.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The young infants developed scurvy although they were receiving the autolyzed yeast. There is the case of an infant sixteen days old and put immediately on Schloss milk until three months of age. It failed to gain, so it was considered a favorable case for prescribing yeast. After three weeks of yeast, during which the child developed eczema on the face, orange juice was finally given with remarkable results. A dozen more experiments with yeast are related to prove that yeast is not as efficacious as a prophylactic or as a remedy as is orange juice, although it may stimulate growth in older infants. In regard to another experiment with germ meal cooked for two hours the result, says Dr. Hess, may be "summarized by the statement that this food was incapable of replacing orange juice and could not be relied on to prevent the development of subacute scurvy." Dr. Hess describes "the case of an infant that received the germ meal when it was six months old and showed *definite signs of subacute scurvy including tenderness and thickening of the lower end of the femur, three months later.*"

Having discovered what diets caused scurvy Dr. Hess set out to discover a diet that might induce rickets:

> . . . My experience embraces a period of two and a half years, and a careful observation of about 150 cases. My opportunity for a clinical study has been exceptional, as the children were in a model institution, where the diet was prepared in a central kitchen, and all the conditions were uniform and capable of control. Furthermore, I was sure that the infants received a diet adequate in calories and other food factors. It is only under similar conditions that studies on chronic nutritional disorders can be carried out.[12]

The development of rickets was followed in infants on a diet. Six developed rickets. "That this disorder was truly rickets," says Dr. Hess, "was proved by its rapid subsidence on the administration of cod liver oil." For years Dr. Alfred F. Hess and Lester J. Unger worked on the discovery of a diet sure to induce rickets. The results were read before the Society for Experimental Biology and Medicine, and published in the Proceedings of the Society, Vol. XVII, 1919-20. Pp. 220-221.[13]

> For the past two years we have been observing the effect of various diets on the development of rickets in infants. The babies received orange juice to exclude the possibility of latent scurvy. All have been on the diet for at least six months, and were followed clinically as well as controlled by means of the X-ray. It was found that *many diets supposed to be eminently conducive to rickets* resulted in normal nutrition. Condensed milk, for example, *only exceptionally induced rickets. The one food which almost regularly led to marked rickets was a "protein milk" prepared by precipitating buttermilk with heat.* . . .

The above examples and numerous others I have at hand show clearly that a number of physicians have been carried too far in their studies on the children under their care. The Harvey Society honored one of the physicians by having him read a paper relating such experiments. The Society for Experimental Biology and Medicine printed one of the above-quoted papers in its Proceedings, and several standard medical journals printed papers on scurvy and rickets relating the experiments on asylum infants.

"The Home for Hebrew Infants, formerly the Hebrew Infant Asylum," says the handbook of the Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies of New York City, "was founded in 1895 to receive and take charge of children under five years, made orphans by the death of one or both parents; children left without proper guardianship; and children whose parents are too destitute to care for them properly." A child is placed in an infant asylum because it is left "without proper guardianship," because the parents "are too destitute to care for it properly." It is never intended to take the place of a guinea pig in a dietetic laboratory.

To what length does zeal for the advancement of science justify such a situation? Needless to say, the physicians who carried on dietetic experiments on the infants of the Hebrew orphan asylum are persons of the highest professional standing, men devoted to their profession and to the serving of humanity. That their experiments have great value admits of no dispute. Indeed, the basis of most progress in medicine has been experimentation, usually on animals, but often on the persons of the scientists themselves. There is no more heroic or more altruistic chapter in history than that of the sacrifice of men of science generally of their own bodies in the search of truth. There is hardly a physician of standing who has not cheerfully in his career undergone discomfort and often considerable pain in order to test or discover new facts and new principles. But no devotion to science, no thought of the greater good to the greater number, can for an instant justify the experimenting on helpless infants, children pathetically abandoned by fate and intrusted to the community for their safeguarding. Voluntary consent by adults should, of course, be the *sine qua non* of scientific experimentation.

It is not the purpose of this article to discuss personalities, either of individuals or of institutions. If there is any indictment to be drawn from this presentation of facts, it is rather against the medical profession as a whole, which has apparently cheerfully acquiesced without comment or criticism in the revelation of such experimentation on children as has here been shown. Nor is it a satisfactory answer to allege, as may perhaps be done, that "no serious harm was done the children." In the first place, were such a statement to be made, it would be open to great question. That at least temporary pain and suffering was caused admits of no denial. The whole business is thoroughly wrong and reprehensible.

The medical profession should officially take steps to prohibit such procedure in the future, for if it does not do so, public authorities undoubtedly will, a development which is neither desirable nor necessary. The medical profession, composed as it is for the most part of men of integrity and ideals, who inherently carry with them the gravest responsibilities intrusted to any human being, must be largely autonomous. It is difficult enough to contend with the anti-vivisection fanatics and the various freaks and cranks who are constitutionally hostile to organized medicine and its progress. But a condition such as that related above cannot but react unfavorably in all these respects upon the profession as a whole and upon the benefits which it can confer on mankind.

[12] Read before the Harvey Society January 15, 1921. *Journal of the Am. Med. Assn.*, March 12, 1921. Vol. 76, No. 2, pp. 697-698.

[13] Dietaries of Infants in Relation to the Development of Rickets, by A. F. Hess and L. J. Unger. From the Home for Hebrew Infants, New York City.

Contributors to this Issue

KONRAD BERCOVICI, a former social worker, is the author of "Crimes of Charity" and "Dust of New York."

WALTER F. WHITE was sworn in as a special deputy at Tulsa.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Contemporary American Novelists

By CARL VAN DOREN

VI. JAMES BRANCH CABELL

ALTHOUGH most novelists with any historical or scholarly hankerings are satisfied to invent here a scene and there a plot and elsewhere an authority, James Branch Cabell has invented a whole province for his imagination to dwell in. He calls it Poictesme and sets it on the map of medieval Europe, but it has no more unity of time and place than has the multitudinous land of "The Faerie Queene." Around the reigns of Dom Manuel, Count and Redeemer of Poictesme, epic hero of "Figures of Earth," father of the heroine in "The Soul of Melicent" (later renamed "Domnei"), father of that Dorothy la Desirée whom Jurgen loved (with some other women), father also of that Count Emmerich who succeeded Manuel as ruler at Bellegarde and Storisende—around the reigns of Manuel and Emmerich the various sagas of Mr. Cabell principally revolve. Scandinavia, however, conveniently impinges upon their province, with Constantinope and Barbary, Massilia, Aquitaine, Navarre, Portugal, Rome, England, Paris, Alexandria, Arcadia, Olympus, Asgard, and the Jerusalems Old and New. As many ages of history likewise converge upon Poictesme in its ostensible thirteenth or fourteenth century, from the most mythological times only a little this side of Creation to the most contemporary America of Felix Kennaston who lives at comfortable Lichfield with two motors and with money in four banks, but in his mind habitually bridges the gap by imagined excursions into Poictesme and the domains adjacent. Nothing but remarkable erudition in the antiquities of Cockaigne and Faery could possibly suffice for such adventures as Mr. Cabell's, and he has very remarkable erudition in all that concerns the regions which delight him. And where no authorities exist, he merrily invents them, as in the case of his Nicolas of Caen, poet of Normandy, whose tales "Dizain des Reines" are said to furnish the source for the ten stories collected in "Chivalry," and whose largely lost masterpiece "Le Roman de Lusignan" serves as the basis for "Domnei." One dull-witted critic and rival of Mr. Cabell has lately fretted over the unblushing anachronisms and confused geography of this parti-colored world. For less somber scholars these are the very cream of the Cabellian jest.

The cream but not the substance, for Mr. Cabell has a profound creed of comedy rooted in that romance which is his regular habit. Romance, indeed, first exercised his imagination, in the early years of the century when in many minds he was associated with the decorative Howard Pyle and allowed his pen to move at the languid gait then characteristic of a dozen trivial romancers. Only gradually did his texture grow firmer, his tapestry richer; only gradually did his gaiety strengthen into irony. Although that irony was the progenitor of the comic spirit which now in his maturity dominates him, it has never shaken off the romantic elements which originally nourished it. Rather, romance and irony have grown up in his work side by side. His Poictesme is no less beautiful for having come to be a country of disillusion; nor has his increasing sense of the futility of desire robbed him of his old sense that desire is a glory while it lasts. He allows John Charteris in "Beyond Life"—for the most part Mr. Cabell's mouthpiece—to set forth the doctrine that romance is the real demiurge, "the first and loveliest daughter of human vanity," whereby mankind is duped—and exalted. "No one on the preferable side of Bedlam wishes to be reminded of what we are in actuality, even were it possible, by any disastrous miracle, ever to dispel the mist which romance has evoked about all human doings." Therefore romance has created the "dynamic illusions" of chivalry and love and common-sense and religion and art and patriotism and optimism, and therein "the ape reft of his tail and grown rusty at climbing" has clothed himself so long that as he beholds himself in the delusive mirrors he has for centuries held up to nature he believes he is somehow of cosmic importance. Poor and naked as this aspiring ape must seem to the eye of reason, asks Mr. Cabell, is there not something magnificent about his imaginings? Does the course of human life not singularly resemble the dance of puppets in the hands of a Supreme Romancer? How, then, may any one declare that romance has become antiquated or can ever cease to be indispensable to mortal character and mortal interest?

The difference between Mr. Cabell and the popular romancers who in all ages clutter the scene and for whom he has nothing but amused contempt, is that they are unconscious dupes of the demiurge whereas he, aware of its ways and its devices, employs it almost as if it were some hippogriff bridled by him in Elysian pastures and respectfully entertained in a snug Virginian stable. His attitude toward romance suggests a cheerful despair: he despairs of ever finding anything truer than romance and so contents himself with Poictesme and its tributaries. The favorite themes of romance being relatively few, he has not troubled greatly to increase them; war and love in the main he finds enough. Besides these, however, he has always been deeply occupied with one other theme—the plight of the poet in the world. That sturdy bruiser Dom Manuel, for instance, is at heart a poet who molds figures out of clay as his strongest passion, although the world, according to its custom, conspires against his instinct by interrupting him with love and war and business, and in the end hustles him away before he has had time to make anything more lovely or lasting than a reputation as a hero. In the amazing fantasy "The Cream of the Jest" Mr. Cabell has embodied the visions of the romancer Felix Kennaston so substantially that Kennaston's diurnal walks in Lichfield seem hardly as real as those nightly ventures which under the guise of Horvendile he makes into the glowing land he has created. Nor are the two universes separated by any tight wall which the fancy must leap over: they flow with exquisite caprice one into another, as indeed they always do in the consciousness of a poet who, like Kennaston or Mr. Cabell, broods continually over the problem how best to perform his function: "to write perfectly of beautiful happenings." Now of all the places in the world where beautiful happenings come together, Mr. Cabell argues, incomparably the richest is in the consciousness of a poet who is also a scholar. There are to be found the precious hoarded memories of some thousands of years: high deeds and burning loves and eloquent words and surpassing tears and laughter. There, consequently, the romancer may well take his stand, distilling bright new

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dreams out of ancient beauty. And if he adds the heady tonic of an irony springing from a critical intelligence, so much the better. When Mr. Cabell wishes to represent several different epochs in "The Certain Hour" he chooses to tell ten stories of poets—real or imagined—as the persons in whom, by reason of their superior susceptibility, the color of their epochs may be most truthfully discovered; and when he wishes to decant his own wit and wisdom most genuinely the vessel he normally employs is a poet.

If the poets and warriors who make up the list of Mr. Cabell's heroes devote their lives almost wholly to love, it is for the reason that no other emotion interests him so much or seems to him to furnish so many beautiful happenings about which to write perfectly. Love, like art, is a species of creation, and the moods which attend it, though illusions, are miracles none the less. Of the two aspects of love which especially attract Mr. Cabell, he has given the larger share of his attention to the extravagant worship of women ("domnei") developed out of chivalry—the worship which began by ascribing to the beloved the qualities of purity and perfection, of beauty and holiness, and ended by practically identifying her with the divine. This supernal folly reaches its apogee in "Domnei," in the careers of Perion and Melicent who are so uplifted by ineffable desire that their souls ceaselessly reach out to each other though obstacles large as continents intervene. For Perion the most deadly battles are but thornpricks in the quest for Melicent; and such is Melicent's loyalty during the years of her longing that the possession of her most white body by Demetrios of Anatolia leaves her soul immaculate and almost unperturbed. In this tale love is canonized: throned on alabaster above all the vulgar gods it diffuses among its worshipers a crystal radiance in which mortal imperfections perish—or are at least forgotten during certain rapturous hours. Ordinarily one cynical touch will break such pretty bubbles; but Mr. Cabell, himself a master of cynical touches and shrewdly anticipant of them, protects his invention with the competent armor of irony, and now and then—particularly in the felicitous *débat* between Perion and Demetrios concerning the charms of Melicent—brings mirth and beauty to an amalgam which bids fair to prove classic metal. A much larger share of this mirth appears in "Jurgen," which narrates with a curious phallic candor the exploits of a middle-aged pawnbroker of Poictesme in pursuit of immortal desire. Of course he does not find it, for the sufficient reason that, as Mr. Cabell understands such matters, the ultimate magic of desire lies in the inaccessibility of the desired; and Jurgen, to whom all women in his amorous Cockaigne are as accessible as bread and butter, after his sly interval of rejuvenation comes back in the end to his wife and his humdrum duty with a definite relief. He may be no more in love with Dame Lisa than with his right hand, and yet both are considerably more necessary to his well-being, he discovers, than a number of more exciting things.

Love in "Jurgen" inclines toward another aspect of the passion which Mr. Cabell has studied somewhat less than the chivalrous—the aspect of gallantry. "I have read," says John Charteris, "that the secret of gallantry is to accept the pleasures of life leisurely, and its inconveniences with a shrug; as well as that, among other requisites, the gallant person will always consider the world with a smile of toleration, and his own doings with a smile of honest amusement, and Heaven with a smile which is not distrustful—being thoroughly persuaded that God is kindlier than the genteel would regard as rational." These are the accents, set to slightly different rhythms, of a Congreve; and if there is anything as remarkable about Mr. Cabell as the fact that he has represented the chivalrous and the gallant attitudes toward love with nearly equal sympathy, it is the fact that in an era of militant naturalism and of renascent moralism he has blithely adhered to an affection for unconcerned worldliness and has airily played Congreve in the midst of all the clamorous, serious, disquisitive bassoons of the national orchestra. In "The Cords of Vanity" Robert Townsend goes gathering roses and tasting lips almost as if the second Charles were still the lawful ruler of his obedient province of Virginia; and in "The Rivet in Grandfather's Neck" Rudolph Musgrave, that quaint figure whittled out of chivalry and dressed up in amiable heroics, is plainly contrasted with that glib rogue of genius, John Charteris, who, elsewhere in Mr. Cabell's books generally the chorus, here enters the plot and exhibits a rather sorry gallantry in action. Poictesme, these novels indicate, is not the only country Mr. Cabell knows; he knows also how to feel at home, when he cares to, in the mimic universe of Lichfield and Fairhaven, where gay ribbons perpetually flutter, and where eyes and hands perpetually invite, and where love runs a deft, dainty, fickle course in all weathers.

That Felix Kennaston inhabits Lichfield in the flesh and in the spirit elopes into Poictesme may be taken, after a fashion, as allegory with an autobiographical foundation: "The Cream of the Jest" is, on the whole, the essence of Cabell. The book suggests, moreover, a critical position—which is, that gallantry and Virginia have so far been regrettably sacrificed to chivalry and Poictesme in the career of Mr. Cabell's imagination. Not only the symmetry expected of that career demands something different; so does its success with the gallantries of Lichfield. In spite of all Mr. Cabell's accumulation of erudite allusions, the atmosphere of his Poictesme often turns thin and leaves his characters gasping for vital breath; nor does he entirely restore it by multiplying symbols as he does in "Jurgen" and "Figures of Earth" until the background of his narrative is studded with rich images and piquant chimeras that perplex more than they illuminate—and sometimes bore. These chivalric loves beating their heads against the cold moon are, after all, follies, however supernal; they are as brief as they are bright; in the end, even the greedy Jurgen turns back to honest salt from too much sugar. Now in gallantry as Mr. Cabell conceives and represents it there is always the salt of prudence, of satire, of comedy; and his gifts in this direction are too great to be neglected. The comic spirit, let it be remembered, has led Mr. Cabell from the tawdry and the baroque which frequently disfigured his earlier romances—such as "The Line of Love" and "Chivalry"; it has happily kept in hand the wild wings of his later love stories; now it deserves to have its way unburdened, at least occasionally. While it almost had its way in "Jurgen," where it behaved like a huge organ bursting into uproarious laughter, it still had to carry the burden of much whimsical learning. It would be freer of such delectable plunder could it once burst into uproar in the midst of Virginia. Mr. Cabell has singled out two very dissimilar poets for particular compliment: Marlowe and Congreve. As regards the still more particular compliment of imitation, however, he has done Congreve rather less than justice.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

There *Is* Poland

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: After eighteen months' service as commander of the Kosciuszko Squadron—an entirely American unit of aviators who have fought for Poland because they believed in the people and idea of the Republic of Poland—I returned to the United States at the request of Herbert Hoover to assist in his campaign to relieve the suffering of the children of Central and Eastern Europe. When I returned to the United States, after the armistice between Poland and Russia, I found that among Americans here a different Poland was being talked about than the one I knew from my eighteen months' experience among the Polish people.

In the Kosciuszko Squadron twelve other Americans—none of them of Polish derivation—are dedicating their energies and their lives to the cause of free Poland. I have buried three American boys from the squadron who gave their lives. I have seen another crippled for life. One of our best is a prisoner in Russia. Three of us bear wounds received in the last offensive. Our salaries range from $8 to $12 a month in American money. We have had hard times—even for soldiers. After I shall have rejoined my squadron, if there is another bolshevik offensive this summer or fall, we expect to carry on. We are not soldiers of fortune; in fact, several of us have lost all our savings in maintaining the squadron. We have had no patrons. We are not souvenir collectors, notoriety hunters, or patrioteers. We have tried to impress Poland with the ideals of America, and we think we have played the game accordingly. If I am to review the many criticisms of Poland that I have heard in America, it is necessary for me thus to introduce myself.

For eighteen months—most of them miserable, heart-breaking months—I have lived in the life of Poland and have fought for the existence of the new Republic side by side with Poles of all classes, provinces, and derivations. I have seen them in defeat and in victory, in war, disease, misery, starvation, and play. I have dined with officers, diplomats, the intelligentsia, and the nobility. I have also billeted and eaten with peasants and workmen. I have dealt with bureaucrats and politicians, often with rage in my veins. I have frequently felt paralyzed before insurmountable difficulties placed in my way by those who should have helped to solve them. I have struggled with stupid, vain, and silly officials. All that is true, though it is only one side of the shield. Mentally and physically I have received the hard knocks that many others have received in trying to help the Polish nation in its first years of trial.

Since returning to America I have heard a great deal about Polish militarism, Polish chauvinism, Polish imperialism. On one hand I have heard that the Polish peasants were oppressing and driving from the Government the educated classes. On the other hand I have heard that the nobility were grinding down the peasantry and driving the working classes to despair. I have heard the Poles were provokers of war; that Poles could never govern themselves; that inefficiency, graft, and stupidity were the order of the day. I have heard that Poland was the tool of France and that Pilsudski, the Polish national leader, was the tool of Germany. I have heard that the Russians—undefeatable because they were Bolsheviki—defeated themselves at the battle of Warsaw; that the Polish armies won by an accident, a fraud, and a deceit; and that it was solely the courage, valor, and strategy of some few hundred French officers that hurled back the Bolsheviki over a front of three hundred miles and not the thousands of peasants armed with scythes, the boy scouts, the worn regular troops, the desperate old men, and the marvelous women that I personally saw throwing themselves forward in the advance to save their capital and their homes. Alice in Wonderland could not have been more astounded than I when I came in contact with "liberal" and average intelligence in America on the subject of Poland.

There *is* inefficiency in Poland. There *is* strife among political parties. There *is* starvation, devastation, heartrending distress, thousands of pitiful, underfed orphans, perhaps hundreds of thousands of cases of typhus. God only knows how much there is in Poland that is pitiful and pitiable. Nobody else can know. If the Polish nation and the Government which fairly represents that nation were responsible for these conditions, a paternal master should step in without delay and administer Poland as a dependency for humanitarian reasons. Under such conditions of responsibility a receiver should step in and liquidate the affairs of a nation bankrupt in finances, health, public morals, and national honor.

Such conditions of responsibility do not exist. They have never existed. The receivership is the course advocated by those who have a mote in the eye. It narrows the vision, restricts the reaction of the intellect, and deprives the soul of the generosity of a reasoning and understanding human being. It makes for unreasoning impatience, dogmatic narrowness, and platitudinous solutions. It is not the vision of a man with sufficient clarity to see the present in its relation to the past and its affiliation with the future. It is not the vision of a man who can glance back over the past two years and ask, How did Poland begin? What had Poland to begin with?

There *is* inefficiency in Poland. In November, 1918, when Pilsudski returned to Poland and by edict and force expelled the remaining German and Austrian troops and officials, there was no government in Poland. The utter breakdown of defeat had already come. There was no army. There were only those few troops of Pilsudski's legions and the will of the disorganized mass of the Polish people. There was never a civilized country on earth that found itself in such utter chaos of law and the agencies of law, and utterly without central government, that by such heroic efforts maintained itself free from anarchy, rebellion, and general violence during a period of three months until a popular election could be held. And this, it must be remembered, was with the example of bolshevism and its sinister temptations to the ignorant masses as a next-door neighbor.

Within the country were three sets of law and three types of Polish people. There were German laws in Poznania, Russian laws in Congress Poland, Austrian laws in Galicia—and the absence of the military officials of the governing powers that had until the armistice been enforcing those laws according to the rule of military necessity. There were industrious, educated, efficient Poles in Poznania, trained well in German methods. There were farmers, business men, bankers, soldiers. Germany had no room for Poles as diplomats, high officials, or lawmakers. The Poles of Poznania had been denied their language. Their schools were German. There were educated, cultured Poles in western and eastern Galicia. There were farmers, business men, bankers, soldiers, and some men trained as officials. Austria had been comparatively liberal. There was general illiteracy and an abused and stupefied peasantry in Congress Poland, the heritage of Russian rule for 125 years—a people denied their native speech, debased by every ingenuity of Russian cruelty and stupidity, exiled to Siberia at every attempt to think or act as Poles.

The ethnology was the same, but three types of Poles existed, each type reflecting in some manner of reaction the oppression or liberality of its former master over a period of 125 years—a sufficient time in which to mold personal characteristics. There were some individuals of great ability that were not available for popular government. They were individuals who had compromised their nationalism with Russia, with Germany, and with Austria. To an outraged people they were not acceptable as administrators or lawmakers. The prestige of Russia and Germany was anathema, and natural jealousy on the part of Russian and German Poles became a stumbling block for the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

well-intentioned Pole who had had training in government in former Austrian Poland. Such was the diversified material—such the problems—for the erection of a central government.

Nor was that the greatest of difficulties. Seven times had those armies of three Powers renowned throughout the world for their terrorism and devastation swept through Poland like a plague of locusts over wheatfields. From the German frontier to the gates of Warsaw decisive battles had been fought, as the German and Russian lines swayed back and forth in 1914, 1915, and 1916. One of the most fertile provinces of Europe could scarcely subsist itself. East of Warsaw, the Russian armies in retreating maintained their historic policy of leaving only a desert behind them to greet the invading German hosts: blackened fields, burned peasant cottages, demolished factories. South of Warsaw through the rich provinces of eastern and western Galicia similar tactics were employed. In the heart of industrial Poland—Warsaw, Lodz, Kalisz, Czestechowa—the factories had been stripped not only of every carload of raw material, but of the brass and copper parts of machinery, of all belting, of cables, wire, and portable engines. When the load was too heavy, dynamite completed the devastation.

The entire gold reserves of the three provinces had been carried off to the central depositaries of the Russian, German, and Austrian governments. Twenty-seven major varieties of paper currencies without gold reserve were circulating through frontierless Poland. There were kronen, marks, rubles, and various script of the invading armies, as currency of a "country."

That was Poland—two years ago. A Poland of empty, dismantled factories, of workmen without work, of fields blackened and seamed by war, of people utterly worn out by greater privations of war than were suffered by any belligerent, of families whose men and boys had variously served in the hated armies of the three national oppressors—that Poland without frontiers and those Polish people without laws, lawmakers, law enforcers, or a central government, without an army but with four active fronts were "nation" and the "country" that existed as a matter of fact and as an apparently insuperable problem for the most able of executives only two years ago. And bolshevism was enthroned militantly in Russia.

No one who has studied the problem of Poland can dispute any statement made so far. The pity is that very few pause to realize what these facts mean and what their relation is to the Poland of today.

Can the Poles govern themselves? Poland exists today as a free country, and this is what it was two years ago. There has not been even an incipient revolution. For a year the Polish Cabinet has been more secure than the Cabinets of France and Italy, and on the Continent stands as the only successful coalition Government today.

Are the Poles inefficient? Of course, a great number of them are and some of those are in the Government. Thanks for that must be given to 125 years of Russia, Austria, and Germany as educators of bureaucrats. But are Poles efficient? Poland exists without internal disorder and with a Government largely of untrained men doing everything humanly possible in the face of obstacles erected over a century and a quarter of oppression and four years of war fought over Polish soil, for the responsibility of which not one Pole can be found guilty. The order given that Government was large. Is there any example in history that shows so great a work to be done even by an old and experienced government? Machine-guns have not yet been used on Polish mobs.

Is there a Polish landed nobility? There is. It consolidated its lands under 125 years of German, Austrian, and Prussian rule, while the western world was becoming liberal. But Poland was partitioned by these Powers because the liberalism of the Polish state threatened the autocracies of Catherine, Frederick, and Maria Theresa. It is significant that within a year after the formation of the Polish Government an agrarian land-reform law has been enacted.

Are the Polish masses represented? The balance of power in the Polish Diet today is among the peasant and workmen Deputies elected by universal suffrage. A peasant is Premier—and yet, despite the intensity of political feeling between the various parties (the heritage of different political environments under three systems of government), a successful coalition Government embodying the elements of the right, center, and left exists in Poland today and is completing the national Constitution at this writing.

Are the Polish people working? Ask why it is that the financiers of the world do not grant credits so that raw material can supply the Polish factories. These factories are rebuilt and restored, a triumph of the tenacity of Polish private industry. They are bare of raw materials because Poland has had no gold with which to buy, because the financiers of the world fear another bolshevik invasion or a thrust from Germany, because the peace conference left Poland with undetermined frontiers and bloody plebiscite areas, provokers of war. Therefore there is no credit, and every undeserved slur cast upon the Polish Government and people by their enemies and by the ill-informed further renders unlikely the assistance of credit, without which work for the Polish workingman and seed for the Polish peasant cannot be had.

There are undeniable difficulties confronting the Polish state. I have mentioned some of them. In addition there is wide unemployment, and this will continue until raw materials can be imported. There are banking difficulties and a remittance problem to be solved. The railway transportation situation is acute because of lack of locomotives and cars. That, too, depends upon credit arrangements with producers of rolling stock. The educational system must be revamped and restored on a liberal basis. Typhus must be combated, although there are practically no medicinal supplies with which to carry on that war against disease. These again must be imported, and importations imply credit. The Polish electorate, the majority of which embodies the general illiteracy of former Russian Poland, must be educated for self-government. That is a matter for time and increased educational facilities to work out. Yet, along all these lines, different departments of the Polish Government are straining every nerve, and their success seems small only in comparison with the unparalleled task that confronts them and the natural handicaps that I have previously mentioned.

The Polish Constitution that has since been adopted is the most liberal and advanced written constitution of any modern government, the result of the reasonable and necessary compromise of the Right, Center, and Left factions in the Diet. The final peace with the Soviets has been signed, and there is not a responsible element of any political faith in Poland that is not fervently hoping for a secure and enduring peace.

Despite the cumulative horrors of four years of World War and the terrible devastation caused by the Soviet forces last summer, Poland *is* today. Thirty million suffering people have, out of utter chaos, maintained a government—a representative government—out of available human material and under heart-breaking conditions. They have had everything to do in the way of building up the very rudiments of government and industry, and on top of that a war that threatened their very existence. They have done that with a poverty of trained men and materials and with no help outside of the surplus war stocks sold on credit by America and France and the benefactions of the American people through Mr. Hoover. From the heritage of their oppression and of four years of war of unsurpassed ferocity, they have erected out of the ruins a government—imperfect perhaps—inefficient in some respects—but a government of hard working men. Cold, hungry, largely without work, they continue to support that government, a twentieth-century phenomenon rubbing shoulders with Soviet Russia, an historic phenomenon of unexampled patience and national sobriety. For her national enemies to destroy the Polish state again would mean the massacre of a race of men, women, and children. Answering every attack on the Polish state and people, Poland IS.

CEDRIC FAUNTLEROY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In the Driftway

MENTION in the newspapers recently that a laboratory has been endowed to study the elimination of noise from our industrial civilization is worth more than amused or indifferent remark. We ought long ago to have begun to take the matter seriously; to realize that this age, instead of progressing toward the reduction of noise, has introduced into the world a vast amount of new and peculiarly irritating babel. There is a great difference in noise. City dwellers who go to the country for rest sometimes complain that they are kept awake nights by croaking frogs or waked before dawn by ambitious roosters. But country noises are nature's noises; generally they are musical or at least not actually discordant. One not only becomes accustomed to them, but eventually finds many of them soothing, such as the strange whirr and hum by night and by day of the poignant and mysterious insect chorus of forest and field. Our city noises are otherwise. They are largely unmusical, a vast dissonance of screeching, grating, banging, chattering, that wears our nerves and saps our energies, that makes sleep unrestful (although we may not realize it) and shortens life by the erosion of our vitality. Some day our epoch may be known as the age of Unregenerate and Unregulated Noises; the havoc to thought and life wrought by this plague may be viewed with the same awe and pity with which we now look back upon the ravages of the Black Death. Some years ago Mrs. Isaac Rice organized an anti-noise society in New York City. It consisted mainly of herself, and was regarded by the rest of the community as an amusing and harmless bit of lunacy. In truth Mrs. Rice was a pathfinder for what will one day become a great crusade; she was a pioneer in the eradication of an evil which we will eventually combat with the same seriousness and effort that we now employ against impure water or the Great White Plague.

* * * * *

THE Drifter refuses to be drawn into any controversy regarding Greenwich Village. He knows that it is a desirable neighborhood, and reports of suiciding young women, or of posters of frugally dressed ladies, or of waiters with knives in their teeth do not shake him from his firm faith. He imagines that Mr. Bertolocci, the fruit seller, and his five amiable if vociferous children, and Mr. Raimondi, the delicatessen dealer (whose prices, the Drifter is assured by one who knows, are equal to any upper West-sider's), and Mr. Donovan, whom the Drifter suspects of having something to do with prohibition, though perhaps not in a way that would be approved by Mr. Volstead, all quite agree with him. "These here artists," Mr. Donovan remarked with a slightly contemptuous emphasis on the word "artists" which made the Drifter blush and hastily remind himself that the Driftway was in nowise Art and never would be, "these here artists are all right. They give a sort of nifty tone to the neighborhood—yellow and blue furniture makes things nice and bright, I think. My daughter's gone and painted her bed, that used to be white, a pink color—bright and cheerful looking it is, too. But I guess the old neighborhood's about the same as it was when I went to the Grove Street school and was running with the Bedford Street gang, and that, mister, is near fifty years ago." And with Mr. Donovan the Drifter is content to let the matter rest.

NO, the Drifter has no quarrel with Greenwich Village. For one thing he values too highly its round hard loaves of Italian bread and its pungent cheese, not to mention its almost incredible variety of spaghetti and macaroni and vermicelli and all the other sizes whose names the Drifter does not know. He is too fond of the small red brick houses and the twisting streets and the unexpected inner tenements and half-hidden alleys that make walking a delight. To him the village, besides these pleasant things, means a combination of little Italy, the Irish-America of twenty or thirty years ago, an amiable group of literati and artists of one sort or another, and others whom he has forgotten for the moment. When old age overtakes him and forces him to give up drifting, it is here that he has determined to sink to a well-earned rest.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

The Labor Press

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Mr. Warner's article in *The Nation* of June 1 on the Labor Press was timely and almost helpful—almost, if not for the lack of a brave and constructive criticism which is so essential at the birth of any new weapon within the labor ranks. Mr. Warner's attitude is probably the result of an "Oh, thank God, there is something at last to combat the evil influence of the Brass Check press" sigh, an attitude which is erroneous and alien to the liberal mind.

That "there is probably a clientele in all of our larger cities for one working-class daily" is a correct assumption. It is probably a small clientele in comparison with the capitalist one, but it will number about 20,000 in cities of, say, 300,000. Realizing this, the average labor editor starts a reasoning process which goes something like this: "I have 20,000 buyers in this town and vicinity, but this won't do. The *Times* around the corner has 70,000. Me for some of his circulation. I must look like him. I must talk like him. I must make faces like him. After all, the people want a paper like that." (Conscience salve.) And he proceeds to manufacture a product exactly like his brother around the corner. The results, I venture to say, will be a high mortality rate among labor dailies, or they will cease to promote the economic interests of the workers.

The reason is simple. To produce a large modern paper without "privileged interests" patronage is an impossibility. Let us be realists and face this fact. If a labor press is to function, its "meat" is these interests, and surely we cannot expect these very same people to feed their enemy except from sinister motives.

There is a small but natural advertising medium which belongs to the labor daily. The cooperatives, the labor movement itself can be exploited, and, of course, what Mr. Warner pleases to call "sympathetic advertising." This probably means a small 6-page paper, if the entire labor movement extends its unflinching support.

If it is true, as Mr. Warner states, "that the narrow appeal to organizations is partly giving way before the need of developing a broad proletarian movement," then half the battle is won. There comes to mind a labor daily which has lately been casting little stones at the "wobblies," Communists, etc., and casting them at a time when the paper has one foot in the grave. A headline which broke the back of the camel—it was a leader—told in glaring red letters of "Big Bill" Haywood skipping the country $35,000 short. The "wobblies" in turn are now boycotting the paper with a double vengeance. This Gopher Prairie stuff can and must give way to a more

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tolerant outlook without necessarily relinquishing one's own elemental bearing.

Mr. Warner is inclined to shut one eye to the "vulgar" material the average labor daily carries. I think it is a grave error, if one is not chasing that 70,000 rainbow circulation. One would not expect to supplant "The Woman Who Changed" serial of our labor dailies with a "Ulysses" or a "Jean Christophe," but why not chance Dreiser or Sinclair? (A French labor daily with a little vision is running "Jenny Gerhardt.") And in place of the "execrable" comics like the sterile Mutt and Jeff why not the healthy and fresh and funny pictures of a Gropper or a Young? Much of the low standard of the average labor daily can be laid at the feet of the monster Success. Labor editors like the creators of "Pelle the Conqueror" or the "Rise of David Levinsky" are not in the habit of conducting American labor papers.

It is to be hoped that the Federated Press, which nourishes within its fold men with a clear vision and wider intellectual outlook, will be courageous enough to point the way, otherwise it will be a slow and painful groping through the dark.

Seattle, Washington, June 13 GILBERT O'DAY

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have read with great interest the able article of Mr. Warner on the growth of the labor press. His account of The Federated Press is so well done that it is a shock to discover at the end a serious charge concerning our news. After saying that The Federated Press is "by all odds the most hopeful and the most worthy of support of any development in American journalism within a generation" he affirms that the service is "rather less accurate than the Associated Press." In view of the damaging case against the Associated Press in Mr. Sinclair's "Brass Check," to be termed "rather less accurate" is to be labeled well-nigh unreliable.

From its inception the sincere desire of The Federated Press has been to record the news accurately and disinterestedly. Serving labor and farmer papers, we naturally specialize in news that is of particular interest to those groups. To that extent we may be deemed partisan. We make every effort, however, to publish only truthful accounts and we have not suppressed news which might be interpreted as detrimental to the interests we serve. We do, however, refrain from publishing matter which tends to show that one faction of the labor movement has the solution for the world's ills or that another is injuring the movement by its policies.

The strongest incentive to disinterested reporting is the varied membership of our association. Nonpartisan League, I. W. W., Farmer Labor Party, and A. F. of L. editors would immediately protest if we printed news with a socialist bias. In our sixteen months' existence there has not been a single withdrawal because of dissatisfaction with the quality of our news. In all that period there have been less than a dozen protests against stories published in our service and most of these were against signed expressions of opinion circulated only because of intrinsic worth. Considering the fact that the Associated Press has an employee whose sole task is to look after complaints from members this is not a bad record.

I trust that *The Nation* and its readers will call our attention to any inaccuracies in Federated Press stories that come to their notice. We want to make it "the fairest and best gatherer of news in existence," to quote Mr. Warner.

Chicago, June 7 CARROLL BINDER

The Quakers' Challenge

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I was glad to read the article on The Truest Sect in the issue of June 15. At a time when fidelity to conscience is apparently at a discount and when the world almost seems to find standard flexible consciences indispensable for its work, it is refreshing to be reminded that at least one group of conscientious objectors has been able to live up to its conscience and still retain a considerable degree of public consideration and respect. The tradition of the Quaker in America, handed down from times before the days of exclusion and deportation laws, will always tend to make a bit easier the position of those who set conscience before convenience in any matter. It is good to hear the Friends "state in public meeting their religious challenge to the world." I am wondering whether the challenge is about to be met.

On June 3, in the United States District Court at Cincinnati, an alien named Franz, a member of the International Bible Students' Association, a sect apparently agreeing with the Friends in its attitude toward war, presented his petition for naturalization, but refused to take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States if it obligated him to bear arms. His age was given as sixty-two so that it was apparently no consideration of personal safety that prompted him to make his reservation. The result of his insistence on his scruple is thus stated in the Cincinnati *Enquirer* of June 4:

> "Petition dismissed," was the caustic comment of United States District Judge John Weld Peck.
>
> "I am ashamed to have appeared as a witness for a man of this caliber," said one of Franz's witnesses, in apologizing to Judge Peck for having vouched for the applicant.
>
> "Get out of here!" said Court Bailiff William McHugh, United States Deputy Marshal, as he pushed Franz out of the presence of Judge Peck and of the persons assembled in the courtroom.
>
> Examiner Kennedy was careful to question each applicant subsequently with respect to this most vital point.

Does this meet the challenge of the Quakers? If Judge Peck was correct, are Quakers eligible to citizenship and to public offices requiring an oath to support the Constitution?

Cincinnati, June 14 ED. F. ALEXANDER

A Farmer's Testimony

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: You have no idea how the farmers of North Dakota have been plundered during the last forty years or how abject is their slavery now. Considering the difference in standards of living, we are subject to worse robbery than the peasants of France were a century and a quarter ago. Everything except a bare living has been taken from us by the corporations—always, however, leaving enough over to encourage the second generation, inspired by the characteristic optimism and hopefulness of youth, to marry, go on rented land, and rear more farmers for exploitation. They are sustained, moreover, by the hope that movements like the Nonpartisan League or tariff adjustment may in time bring relief.

I know what I am talking about. I came here in 1880. I am no kid-glove farmer. Few men have in that time done more actual work. I've done straight farming—wheat, hogs, and cattle. Now at the end of over forty years I solemnly affirm that *there has been nothing in it.* I'm nearly seventy, and while I work every day carrying on my farm, I am willing now to act the part of spectator and let others do the work and hustling. It will be hard to avoid a violent revolution. Perhaps the ballot may be the means of bringing about the reforms, but I doubt it.

Jamestown, North Dakota, June 14 B. W. S.

Harvey

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Of course, Harvey ought to come back. If our diplomats are going to begin to tell the truth, by all means let us hasten to recall them before they spill the beans. But what of those poor devils who loved Harvey for the cheap Billingsgate he spat at Wilson and simultaneously loved the humbug about making the world safe for democracy? By what miracle of genius are they going to reconcile their two passions now?

Newton, Massachusetts, June 3 PRESCOTT WARREN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Earth Will Stay the Same

By FRANK ERNEST HILL

The earth will stay the same for all our flying;
We shall come back to earth when we are done,
And take gray streets again for air and sun,
Give up the truth of space for dust and lying.
A girl's clear look will find us in a crowd,
The western moon will die in soundless dawn,
We shall live briefly then with what is gone,
Riding our seas of light and wind and cloud.
But mostly we shall live with earth; our hands
Shall keep her rhythm, eyes and ears shall know
Her shafts of steel, the singing of her cars,
As, far from rain-washed forests, sea-washed sands,
Dreams in a house upon a sleeper grow
Who made his bed for years beneath the stars.

Books

Goethe and Ourselves

The Life of Goethe. By P. Hume Brown. With a Prefatory Note by Viscount Haldane. Henry Holt and Company. 2 vols.

A TALL, bony, ascetic-looking man was once lecturing on Goethe. He spoke with a placid absorption, a contented pride. An impatient youth among his hearers whispered: "He doesn't understand Goethe at all." "Perhaps not," an older man answered slowly, "but he loves him with all he is not and cannot be and does not dare to be. Condemned to a fragmentary existence, he spends his life in the sunshine of an entire man." The anecdote, whether true or invented, throws a strong light on the un-Goethean disciples and lovers of the poet—on the great, murky Carlyle himself, on Masson, on Dowden, on the late Professor Hume Brown. The latter was historiographer royal for Scotland and professor of ancient Scottish history and paleography at the University of Edinburgh. But every summer during many years he went in the company of Lord Haldane to Weimar, Jena, Wetzlar, Göttingen, to gather materials for his life of Goethe. For Goethe "was his favorite teacher as well as his favorite poet, and his ambition was to try to make the greatness of the man clear to the Anglo-Saxon world." In this ambition of Hume Brown the man revenged himself upon the scholar and the gentleman, the lover of beautiful forms and actions upon the specialist in ancient Scottish paleography, the humanist he never quite dared be upon that within him which impelled him to set down even in the life of his favorite teacher the opinion that Goethe's relation to Christiane Vulpius constitutes one of those "equivocal incidents in the biography of great men which puzzle their warmest admirers," and that it has "materially affected his influence with posterity."

The revenge, evidently, was never quite complete. Hume Brown, furthermore, had no way of exhibiting the fine sensibilities which he undoubtedly possessed. He is capable of saying that certain poems of Goethe are "among the richest jewels in his poetic crown" and of scattering up and down his two volumes verse translations of lyrical passages that are incredibly muddy and jejune. But he has done all that scholarly care and intelligent devotion can do. His book is less lively than Lewes's or even than James Sime's. It is, of course, immensely more solid and comprehensive and will be consulted with profit if scarcely read with pleasure for many years to come. But that is the inevitable and merciless difference between a beautiful, living book and a standard work. It is but fair to add that, at long intervals, Hume Brown's mind assumed a gentle glow. It did so in his summing up of the qualities of the "Urfaust," in his appreciation of the "Sprüche in Prosa" (he neglects a little the even greater "Sprüche in Reimen"), and in his earnest recognition of the fact that Goethe's supremacy—when we have yielded half of his formal works to the Devil's Advocate—is unshaken, and consists in his having added to the office of a great poet that of "one of humanity's enduring counselors."

In the nature of Goethe's counsel lies the secret of his profound fascination. The beauty that he brings us is not remote or enshrined or transmuted, prior to its expression, into some cultural tradition or formal medium that time is beginning to tarnish. All the other great poets lived in a fixed and finished world, in a cosmic or a moral system in which the fate of every action and quality was assumed to be foreknown. Goethe was the first realist in the modern sense, and he is still the greatest. He surveyed himself and mankind and human life not under the guidance of preestablished ideas, but as they are in their own nature and in their native significance and beauty. He created ideas in life and vision in art through passion and action themselves, and his ultimate counsel of dying to live—"Stirb und werde"—is the exact contrary of the Pauline monition in that it means not the elimination but the absorption and transcendence of experience. To put the matter very simply, if you would avoid drowning, don't flee the water but learn to swim.

We must, in a word, strive onward with the universe which is not only a being but a becoming, not a mere static spectacle but a procession in which our road is also our goal. It is

Gestaltung, Umgestaltung,
Des ewigen Sinnes ewige Unterhaltung.

Men differ from each other; man differs from himself.

Der Mensch ist ungleich, ungleich sind die Stunden.

Long before Nietzsche or the modern sociologists Goethe knew that man creates false moral absolutes out of his own narrow and special propensities and that thus each one

das Beste was er kennt,
Er Gott, ja seinen Gott benennt.

Therefore he issues the broad command of tolerance:

Tu, was du willst, nur habe nicht recht.

And therefore in a universe of relativity he substitutes the concept of error for that of sin and the concept of creative self-direction for that of conformity to the unreal absolutes of a rigid system. "The world spirit," he declared, "is far more tolerant than people think." And hence he held it to be quaint and amusing that among men "each grudges the other the right to err in his fashion." He made the sharpest differentiation between mere whim and the command of the inner law and was under no illusion as to the difficulty of our mortal conflicts:

Wer nicht verzweifeln kann, der muss nicht leben.

But he repudiated all forms of external moral or intellectual compulsion: "Wandle doch jeder nach seiner Art"; he repudiated all fugitive and cloistered virtues and felt life to be, upon these terms, an heroic creative adventure:

Lasst mich nur auf meinem Sattel gelten!
Bleibt in euren Hütten, euren Zelten!
Und ich reite froh in alle Ferne,
Ueber meiner Mütze nur die Sterne!

He felt it to be, above all, a cosmic adventure. He lived wholly in the concrete, yet wholly in the infinite, too. God moves the universe from within even as man "lives from within outward," and nature has "neither kernel nor shell." Thus Goethe destroyed the false distinction between a variable earthly and an unvarying eternal order and lived at every moment within that process of creative change which is the universe. "I know no other aim," he wrote, "than to realize myself, in my own way, as far as possible, in order that I may partake of this infinite in which we are placed in an ever happier and purer way."

Toward his views and toward his example all modern philosophy and all modern science converge. The masses of mankind

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are still engulfed in futile conflict and intolerance. But wherever the modern mind attains its highest and clearest consciousness, whether through poetry or philosophy or science, it finds its ultimate conclusions foretold and expressed by Goethe. Therefore his sayings and gnomic poems, his letters and conversations and "Faust"—the entire poem, of course, and not merely the Gretchen tragedy—are the true books of wisdom of this age, and his life is the great exemplar toward which many, like Hume Brown, strive darkly and many with all possible vigilance of soul. For that life was truly self-governed, tolerant, whole, and free. It transmuted passion into vision and business into wisdom; it steeped itself in the concrete and found the universal there; it achieved the triumph of personality within the cosmic flux and came upon all aspects of the eternal in the necessary employments of our human day.

Whether day my spirit's yearning
Unto far, blue hills has led,
Or the night lit all the burning
Constellations at my head—
Hours of light or hours nocturnal
Do I praise our mortal fate:
If man think the thought eternal
He is ever fair and great.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

Creators as Critics

Notes on Life and Letters. By Joseph Conrad. Doubleday, Page and Company.

An Ocean Tramp. By William McFee. Doubleday, Page and Company.

THESE two books are proof positive of their authors' fame. Certain scattered fragments by Joseph Conrad have been granted the comparative permanence of board covers as a tribute to their writer's more valuable work, and William McFee's first book has been republished on the assumption that he is now well enough known to insure the successful issue of such a resurrection. In each case the step is assuredly justifiable, but in neither case will the book add materially to the honor of its author.

There is an intimate and informal sound about the title "Notes on Life and Letters" which is apt to raise in the reader hopes that are destined to disappointment. The author himself is quick to disillusion anyone who anticipates revelations of a personal nature. "The only things," he writes, "that will not be found among these Figures and Things that have passed away, will be Conrad *en pantoufles*. It is constitutional inability. *Schlafrock und Pantoffeln!* Not that! Never!" Mr. Conrad's extremist dishabille is not even mildly embarrassing. The fact is that he, like the majority of his heroes, is a lonely and sensitive person with no taste for self-exposure of either the conscious or negligent variety. Indeed, self-exposure is an act against which he most zealously guards. For him his own temperament is not an object for severe introspective study and subsequent public vivisection, but simply the medium through which life is translated into art. He reveals himself, certainly; but it is an indirect revelation, through the characters of his own creation. We learn infinitely more of the man from "Nostromo," "Lord Jim," "Chance," and the others than we do from these less formal notes on books and events. In his most nearly unguarded moments, Joseph Conrad never ceases to personify "the indestructible loneliness that surrounds, envelops, clothes every human soul from the cradle to the grave and perhaps beyond."

At first glance it is cause for surprise that the space in this volume which is devoted to Letters is so much less than that devoted to Life. We find here an unrestrained eulogy of Henry James, a tolerant estimate of Daudet, a fragmentary review of two books by Anatole France, an introduction to a translation of Maupassant, a letter about Turgenev written to Edward Garnett, a brief note on Stephen Crane, some remarks on Marryat and Cooper as writers of sea stories—and that is all of purely literary criticism. Most of us will wish that the "tidying up" process which produced this book had discovered more critical essays and had ignored the articles on the war and the Titanic disaster which bulk large in the section headed Life. At the same time our very regret proves how completely Mr. Conrad has been absorbed in the raw material of his art to the exclusion of second-hand concerns.

In the opening essay on Books, which was written in 1905, the author expresses the same belief respecting artistic creeds which he set forth in the long-unpublished preface to "The Nigger of the Narcissus." In the preface of 1897 he condemned realism, romanticism, naturalism, and sentimentalism as merely "temporary formulas" of the novelist's craft. Here he writes: "Liberty of imagination should be the most precious possession of a novelist. To try to discover the fettering dogmas of some romantic, realistic, or naturalistic creed in the free work of its own inspiration, is a trick worthy of human perverseness which, after inventing an absurdity, endeavors to find for it a pedigree of distinguished ancestors." However, opposed as he is to artistic creeds and definitions, Mr. Conrad, like every other novelist, is tempted to define the function of his art, and in the definition he employs a fresh figure and one especially happy for a man who has given the years of his youth to the sea. "Action in its essence, the creative art of a writer of fiction may be compared to rescue work carried out in darkness against cross gusts of wind swaying the action of a great multitude. It is rescue work, this snatching of vanishing phases of turbulence, disguised in fair words, out of the native obscurity into a light where the struggling forms may be seen, seized upon, endowed with the only possible form of permanence in this world of relative values—the permanence of memory."

In Mr. McFee's book, as in Mr. Conrad's, it is the first portion which is the most valuable; and in this case the first portion is the long preface to the new edition. The book itself (published in London in 1908) reveals a taste for "fine writing" for its own sake which the author has outgrown in his more recent work. Nevertheless, there are passages which, by their simplicity and their clean descriptive strokes, prove themselves the rightful products of a talent which has given us "Aliens" and "Casuals of the Sea."

Confronted by two authors whose work is inspired and permeated by the sea, it is inevitable that one should compare their attitudes toward this mysterious and incorruptible element. Mr. McFee cherishes the sea as "a way of escape from the intolerable burden of life." For Joseph Conrad, on the other hand, it seems that there is no such escape. For him, as he tells us in that unforgettable passage in "The Nigger of the Narcissus," a ship is a small detached planet, reproducing in its limited compass all the features of human society as it is found ashore. Of the Narcissus he writes: "She had her own future; she was alive with the lives of those beings who trod her decks; like that earth which had given her up to the sea, she had an intolerable load of regrets and hopes. On her lived timid truth and audacious lies; and, like the earth, she was unconscious, fair to see—and condemned by men to an ignoble fate."

BEN RAY REDMAN

Notable New Books

The Party of the Third Part. By Henry J. Allen. Harper.
An account by Governor Allen of the Kansas Industrial Relations Court and its first year's work.

War Costs and Their Financing. By Ernest L. Bogart. Appleton.
A solid financial and statistical study.

American Footprints in Paris. By François Boucher and Frances Wilson Huard. Doran.
A guide book of historical data about Americans in the French capital, arranged alphabetically by streets. Much useful information and some surprising omissions.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hospitable England in the Seventies. By Richard Henry Dana. Houghton Mifflin.

An interesting account of noted English men and women a half century ago, taken from journal letters written almost daily to his father by a Harvard Law School student traveling in England with many letters of introduction. The most interesting persons with whom he came in close contact were Gladstone and the Princess Louise. Sketches of student life in Oxford and Cambridge are given, as well as brief accounts of trips in France, Italy, and Greece.

Death and Its Mystery. By Camille Flammarion. Century.

An astronomer's "proofs of the existence of the soul."

Books on the Table. By Edmund Gosse. Scribner.

Amiable critical gossip reprinted from the London *Times.*

The Slaughter of the Jews in the Ukraine in 1919. By Elias Heifetz. Seltzer.

A moving and trustworthy story of fearful deeds. The material was gathered by the All-Ukrainian Relief Committee for the Victims of Pogroms.

Civil War in West Virginia. With an Introduction by John R. Commons. By Winthrop D. Lane. Huebsch.

Valuable articles reprinted from the New York *Evening Post.*

The Pageant of Parliament. By Michael MacDonough. Dutton. 2 vols.

An elaborate study of the processes of the British Parliament viewed from the "human side," by a journalist who believes it to be "as fine and perfect an instrument of democratic government as can humanly be devised."

The English of Commerce. By John B. Opdycke. With an Introduction by Frank A. Vanderlip. Scribner.

A sensible and well-informed handbook.

M. Tulli Ciceronis De Divinatione Liber Primus. With Commentary by Arthur Stanley Pease. University of Illinois. 2 parts.

A work of remarkable erudition and acumen.

The Intimate Life of Sir Walter Scott. By Archibald Stalker. London: Black.

A well-intentioned attempt to portray the personal Scott by a writer who imagines that Scott's character will outlast his books.

Art

Public, Painter, and Dealer

AMERICANS (John Quinn excepted) have not bought pictures. Pictures have been sold to them. Some people are born picture lovers; some people acquire pictures; others have pictures thrust upon them. Americans, for the most part, are of the third class. When pictures have been sold to such Americans, they have not been bought as pictures, but as investments, from a Rembrandt for the owner of a Rolls Royce downward to a Fullwood for the owner of a Ford. American painters, even the Homers and the Wyants, have had to be dead for a respectable period to become investments. The artists say they cannot help it; that they are the slaves of the dealers; that the dealers put high prices on pictures, prices high beyond warrant, and the pictures don't sell.

The Hartley-Rosenberg auction sale at the Anderson Galleries on May 17 indicates that the slavery of the artist to the dealer is self-imposed. These two men sold their pictures without reserve at public auction. Hartley sold because he had to have the money; Rosenberg, as I happen to know, as a challenge to the dealers. Hartley's pictures averaged about $40 apiece; Rosenberg's about $15. According to dealers' standards, the pictures sold dirt cheap. I am not discussing their merits, only their price in contrast to what any dealers will ask you for anything they show. The sale indicates that it is better to receive small, even very small prices and really sell, than to have the dealers charge substantial prices and not sell. This auction indicates then that the painter need not be a slave to the dealer. It indicates that if five painters get together and put in twenty paintings apiece and sell a hundred pictures, they can get something for them.

Something. But is it sufficient? I bought one of Hartley's New Mexico pastels. It cost $40. Ridiculously cheap for so fine a thing. I wouldn't swap it for a dozen of the $500 pictures offered at dealers' shops. But is it ridiculously cheap? Pastel is a rapid medium. Hartley could not have spent more than a day in painting this lovely picture. If a man fiddles with pastel and works over it, it loses freshness, the paper on which he does the work becomes tired, and the colors become muddy. Well, then, assume that there was a day's work for $40. It is a generous allowance of time. If an artist can make $40 for a day's work and works one day a week, the specter of poverty which Stieglitz described in his foreword to the Hartley pictures is buried and the artist can have the integrity of independence, he can tell the dealers to go to the devil, and he can express himself as he wishes to do. There is a great deal of buncombe in the complaint of the American artists about their slavery to the dealers. The dealers are as much slave to the artists as the artists are to the dealers. For it is not the dealer's fault any more than it is the artist's fault that prices in the hundreds and even thousands of dollars are charged for pictures which don't deserve such prices. Both refuse to see that realizable present price and ultimate value have no relation in respect to works of art. The history of art amply demonstrates this. To awaken the American public to the fact that a great deal of vital painting is being produced in this country will be to give the American public a zest for adventure in art. The American public buys low-priced copper stocks in untried prospects. An untried prospect: that describes the young, developing painter.

Whether through the auction room or through a low price at private sale, this Hartley-Rosenberg auction seems to show that if the artist is willing to take a modest price for his work he can establish a point of contact with the public. Let the artists stop complaining of a dead and unsympathetic public. Let them abandon their sense of false dignity based on the price which they put upon their pictures. As the poet lets his volume of verse go forth into the world, interested little, if at all, in royalties, so must the painter, if he is to arouse genuine enthusiasm for American paintings, let his pictures go forth for a song. If he exhibits twenty or thirty water colors at a dealer's shop, let him forget his prices of $200 or $400 per picture and charge $25, $30, $40 a picture. The bigger the man the better can he afford to do this in order to show the lesser fellows that this business of large prices is poppycock, that to ask such prices is a form of intellectual and social snobbery, a fear that pictures will be undervalued because sold for small prices. Look up the prices at which Whistler's prints were first put out—or Zorn's—or the prices at which Monet sold his canvases. Are Whistler, Zorn, or Monet today the worse for this? Let the Academy and every member of it have the courage to end the next Academy show with an outright auction sale without reserve, or if they are too stodgy, let the Independents do it at their next show. What a lark it would be and what a genuine help toward making art a vital thing, not only to the creator but to the audience!

JAMES N. ROSENBERG

A Warning to All

"THE NEXT WAR"

An Appeal to Common Sense

by

WILL IRWIN

$1.34

R. H. Macy & Co. Inc.

Herald Square New York

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

International Relations Section

The Socialist Communes of Italy

AT Rimini, April 3-6, the Congress of Italian Socialist Communes and Provinces was held.* The way had already been prepared by the convention of the mayors of socialist communes, which took place the first of last December. Many vital questions in Italy depend on the reconstruction of finances, which suffered heavily from war conditions, and for this reason much attention was given in the convention to financial problems and the question of local autonomy. The importance of financial "home-rule" is shown by the fact that the national bourgeois government is in a position to block any far-reaching plans of socialist construction through its control of local finances and the taxation system. The recent decree for local taxation issued April 7 was a great disappointment to the Socialists, who hoped to increase their revenues and shift as much of the burden as possible upon the wealthy and parasitic elements. Much depends, however, upon the attitude of the new chamber, for the future of the local socialist administrations is inevitably bound up with the national government.

We print here the resolutions passed by the Congress of the Socialist Communes and Provinces in the order of their presentation:

Local Autonomy

The Congress votes that the executive committee of the (Socialist) Party shall make the problem of the policy of the communes and local autonomy a fundamental part of the platform for the coming electoral battle, and that the activities of the League of Socialist Communes and its sections shall be strictly coordinated with the economic and political activities of the proletariat for the conquest of such demands.

The Housing Problem

The Congress of Socialist Communes:

Whereas, Homes for the working class which are comfortable, hygienic, and moderately priced can be constructed only by the public authorities, and constitute an inalienable right of the people;

Whereas, The capital needed for the construction of such houses must be supplied by the owners of houses built before the war, in anticipation of the greater income which they will derive from the new rents after the termination of the existing regime;

Whereas, When this regime ceases, a sufficient number of houses must be placed on sale by the public authorities to constitute a natural standard of rent based on the actual cost of the new houses and not on the scarcity of houses in relation to the demand;

Resolved:

1. That the communes or unions of communes which intend to have new houses built by the Institutes for Peoples' Housing, in response to the need for houses, shall be permitted to issue bonds at 4 per cent payable in 50 years, and that the owners of rented houses of any kind—with the exception of the Peoples' Housing authorities who already enjoy legal benefits and possess houses as inalienable and indivisible property—shall be obliged to limit the building rights derived from such loans in proportion to the vacancies left in their houses, or assume, through a special system of taxation, the interest and amortization corresponding to the capital to be supplied.

2. That a fund of 50 million lire a year shall be assigned to the state account to aid in the payment of interest and amortization on the sum borrowed by the authorities for the construction of peoples' houses.

3. That there shall be no state tax on these loans, and that the mortgages which the owners of old houses must carry to acquire building rights shall receive a reduction of one-fourth of their taxation.

4. That the communes, unions of communes, and provinces shall be permitted to requisition for the Institutes of Peoples' Housing furnaces and building supply factories.

5. That the League of Communes shall negotiate and study with the National Building Federation ways for increasing economy in the construction of peoples' houses.

6. That total or partial sub-letting or renting shall not be permitted in the peoples' houses, and that no exception can be made to this provision by housing commissioners under any circumstances.

The Socialist Bank

The Congress realizes that the financial crisis which hit the communes, paralyzing all their activities, is nothing more than a reflection of the general situation of the country in consequence of the regime of privilege, abuse, monopoly, and speculation, and that the Government and the ruling classes are still in control of the communal governments; . . .

Having taken into account the fact that the unification of socialist credit tends to integrate the revolution projected by the party and by the syndical organizations and the cooperatives, using the activities of these latter to strike at the very center of the bourgeois credit system;

Having decided that at the present period of acute crisis in the capitalist regime such action is not only practical and possible, but necessary in order to support bourgeois concerns and to turn them into socialist institutions of production and exchange under collective management;

In view of the fact that a socialist bank has been established in Genoa with the aim of extending it in other regions to promote and support all useful work for the working and propertyless classes, [this Congress] expresses its sympathy with the enterprise and resolves to give it full support, turning over to the socialist bank all the funds at the disposal of the communes, and for the practical realization of this aid resolves to pledge the communes to contribute directly and indirectly to the subscription of shares of the bank and to its deposits, and delegates the executive committee of the League of Socialist Communes to provide immediately for a full technical agreement with a representative of the socialist bank, and to undertake the carrying out of this pledge.

The following resolution on the same subject was also adopted:

The Congress, considering that the written law granting loans for educational buildings, peoples' houses, sanitary works, streets, and other public works, has not been lived up to, asks the Government to make provision for such activities; and if the Deposit and Loan Bank is not able to do this, to have the banks and all credit institutions reserve 10 per cent of their funds for the financing of the above-named local improvements.

Normal Schools

The Congress, considering that the most urgent problem of the schools and of proletarian education is that of the preparation of teachers, calls upon our provincial councils to take up the question of instituting socialist provincial normal schools.

Personnel

In the relations between a socialist administration and its members, the Congress considers it necessary for the socialist administration, representing as it does the collective interests of labor, in contrast to the political rule of the bourgeoisie which now predominates, to assume the defense of the material

* There are at present some 2,100 communes and 25 provinces in the hands of socialist administrations.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and moral interests of its own members, according to the same conceptions of justice and collective utility which the Socialist Party has always upheld and defended for all classes of workers. Consequently, while it rejects as contrary to every elementary principle of socialism and class interest any tendency to create conditions favorable to its own members at the expense of other branches of workers, it considers that it is the duty of each socialist administration to give its sympathetic support to the evolution and elevation of the syndical class organization which follows the principles of socialism, and with this in view, it declares that the recognition of the organization should include the right to representation, with a consulting vote, of the organized members in every question directly affecting the members;

Expresses the opinion that in accordance with the principles above set forth, the syndical organizations adhering to the General Federation of Labor should submit to the arbitration of the Federation and the League of Communes any future conflicts which cannot be settled locally, thus avoiding the possibility of strikes against the socialist administrations;

Charges the Council of the League of Communes and its provincial office with drawing up regulations to be incorporated into the laws of the organization in order to assure the fulfilment of the administrative work in the best possible way;

And finally maintains that the League of Communes must provide for the simplification of services, an increase in their efficiency, and reconstruction of the bureaucracy, civil state, electoral lists, accounting, census, etc., with the consequent elimination of about one-half of the personnel and a much more efficient service.

Education

The Congress of Socialist Communes, discussing the practical activities which the administrations conquered by the proletariat must carry on in the educational field even without the assistance of legislative provisions, sets down these principles with regard to their activities:

Reform of the rural school and abolishment of partiality restricting the education of country children, and effective recognition of the right of country children to have a complete education, equal to that of city children, based on individual inclination and capacity; rigorous supervision of the fulfilment of scholastic duty, so that no boy can escape the minimum preparation required by the state law;

Intensification and development of school hygiene measures and welfare work: asylums, recreation centers, colonies, etc., freed from that humiliating charitable character and based on the conception of social duty;

The right to safeguard the physical and moral well-being of the children, and to bring out the talents and individual aptitudes of children of the working-class;

Construction of buildings and provision of educational subsidies, in order to realize as completely as possible the "school village," consisting of simple villages surrounded by fields and gardens, supplied with the necessary means for the individual activity to express itself freely, gathering the elements of knowledge from observation, experiment, and comparison;

Construction in the principal centers of autonomous popular schools which shall carry out the ethical and scientific principles of the new education, in the methods of teaching and in the daily work, and which shall translate into action that plan of regeneration and effective preparation for the life of labor which is in the highest interest of the working-class.

Savings Banks

The Congress, having examined the financial situation of the communes, realizes the fact that the Government is attempting to deprive the communal authorities of the administration of the savings banks, and that for this purpose a protective plan is being developed by Hon. Luzzatti to consolidate the savings banks and transform them from land and real-estate bodies into an institute of commercial credit annexed to the bourgeois banks.

Hygiene

The socialist communes should, in the interest of the workers:

1. Develop an understanding of hygiene through lectures, practical work, demonstrations, and newspapers in workers' organizations, schools, and offices, combating the dense cloud of prejudice which still obscures the mind of the workers—and support hygienic regulation where it has not yet been enforced, and apply it with firmness in face of the class of capitalists, landlords, manufacturers, landholders, and merchants, who have no scruples about violating any such regulation in their own interests;

2. While awaiting the sickness insurance law—which has been promised for so long and which still remains only a project owing to political inertia or ill-will—provide in the best possible way for the disabled worker, either through assisting his recovery by placing him in the most suitable hospital, or by supplying him with doctors, medicines, and nurses in his own home when he can be cared for there;

3. Give most particular attention to the care of the children of workers, during infancy and school age, until they are old enough to go to work, so that, with the aid of institutions for prevention and cure of disease equipped to form the bodies and spirits of the new working generation, they may know how to utilize in their own interest and the interests of their class the advantages conquered by syndical and political power, whether wage increases or improvement of working conditions;

4. Finally to organize—together with the intense struggle against tuberculosis and venereal diseases which, especially since the unhappy period of war, are such a menace to the physical strength of the working-class—a continuous and open battle against alcoholism which, while irreparably destroying the mind, morals, and physical strength of the worker and his children, at the same time paralyzes the revolutionary energy of the working-class and leaves it defenseless against capitalist exploitation.

Sickness Insurance

The League of Socialist Doctors entreats the party organs, the executive committee, and the parliamentary group to work energetically to get the Government to put an end to the delay in presenting the project on social insurance against sickness which will provide a most radical solution of the problems of hospital and home aid.

Solidarity

The Congress sends expression of its solidarity and sympathy to all comrades of the administrations who have fallen victims to the violence of revolting groups armed by unscrupulous and reactionary capitalism. It abstains from any vain denunciation or protest to the Government, which now guarantees impunity for criminal acts and demonstrates complete connivance with those who make criminal attempts to destroy the legitimate representation of the majority and of popular will; and it calls upon the comrades to remain at their posts at all cost, as an example of firmness and of reconstruction for the inevitable future of the socialist ideal.

Cooperatives

In addition to the above resolutions, the Congress approved the statements made by Pittoni with regard to the cooperatives. They are summarized as follows:

The public administrations must support or prepare the way for cooperation, establishing along with the debts securities of such municipal provisioning concerns as work with cooperation and not against it, with a view to becoming absorbed by cooperation and not to undermining it. All duplication, confusion, and unnecessary red-tape must be avoided, cutting down and unifying the organization. The socialist administrations must not waste their time on small and destitute cooperatives which have no economic importance and which are not fulfilling any social mission. They shall turn their efforts to the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

concentration of cooperative forces, fusing them into a few large organizations which can regulate commerce and compete effectively with private trade with a view to replacing it entirely.

The best cooperators and technicians must be called upon to manage the municipal provisioning concerns. The public administrations, after being given every possible guaranty of proper technical and administrative organization of the municipal provisioning concerns, must give them far-sighted financial support. Both the municipal provisioning concerns and the cooperatives must head a single institution in which shall be concentrated the forces of finance and consumption. This institution, already in existence, is the Italian Society of Cooperatives and Consumers.

Italian Labor's Policy

THE Congress of the General Federation of Labor held at Leghorn, February 26–March 3, was the first congress to be held by the Federation for seven years, during which time the membership has increased from 327,000 to more than two million. The chief significance of this congress was the expression of the attitude of the Federation toward the Socialist Party and toward the question of its international affiliations. How it will solve the difficulties arising from its adherence both to the Italian Socialist Party and the Moscow Trade Union International will be decided by future events. The constructive policy of the Federation was left to the National Council, and is described in the resolution of the council given below, which was indorsed by a vote of 1,435,873 to 432,564, showing the great majority in support of the present leaders. The Communists are still "boring from within." The following resolution on relations with the Italian Socialist Party was passed by an overwhelming majority:

The Congress of the General Federation of Labor declares the necessity of increasingly strong relations between the Italian Socialist Party and the General Federation of Labor and, after examining the resolution passed at the Socialist Congress of Leghorn, delegates to the executive committee of the General Federation of Labor the duty of determining, together with the executive committee of the Italian Socialist Party, the methods by which this resolution is to be carried out.

This luke-warm resolution on adherence to Moscow was passed by a vote of 1,355,226 to 418,425:

The Congress of the Federation declares:

1. Unconditional adherence to the movement for the creation of the international of red unions, with the pledge to maintain, nevertheless, the relations of the Federation with the Socialist Party and provided that the principle of syndical federal autonomy is recognized for Italy.

2. Separation from the Trade Union International of Amsterdam, following the decisions to be made at the syndical congress of Moscow.

The National Council of the General Federation of Labor, meeting at Milan, April 22-25, adopted the following resolutions:

Organization

The National Council of the Federation of Labor, in view of the report on the modifications to be made in syndical structure, particularly in regard to the chambers of labor, having heard the discussion on the subject, delegates the new executive committee to study the proposal and then to submit it for discussion to the chambers of labor, the unions, and the National Council; requesting meanwhile that the same executive committee examine the possibility of establishing regional secretaryships with powers of inspection, in order that it may make uniform the work of the chambers of labor in each region:

With regard to the inclusion of cooperatives and mutual aid societies in the Federation, the convention passes a most favorable vote, delegating to the new executive committee the work of carrying out the necessary reforms, after hearing the organizations' statements and submitting them for definite approval to the National Council.

Against Reaction

The National Council of the General Federation of Labor, after examining the situation which has recently arisen in Italy;

In view of the fact that the bourgeoisie—the most jealous guardian of property rights, which form the very reason for its being—exploiting the national ideals which the war inevitably strengthened in those who wanted the war, has aided in forming veritable battalions of volunteers going about freely from place to place in automobiles, with the definite and premeditated duty of destroying peoples' houses, economic organizations, consumers' cooperatives—carrying off and destroying the goods—and cooperatives of workers and producers, showing, with the complacency of the press, that in certain circumstances even the material destruction of wealth is considered a fair weapon of struggle; in view of the fact that the crisis in production—inevitable phenomenon of capitalist economy—facilitates the work of the aggressors against the civil army of the organized proletariat, lessening for the time the effectiveness of the strike;

Confirms the vote of the convention announced among organizers of the General Federation of Labor on the resolution presented, and the mandate to discuss with the general Federation of Industry provisions to be made to lessen the evils arising from unemployment;

Asks the new executive committee rapidly to collect documents to show what methods are employed against our organizations, the cruelty which has been committed, and the evident complicity of the state authorities—confining itself to facts exposed in a strictly truthful way—and to convoke immediately the executive committee of the Trade Union International for a documentary exposition of the Italian situation, sending qualified representatives to the committee, so that the whole world of organized labor may know what is happening in our country at this unhappy time to the workers of Italy, and assures all the organizations and individual comrades who have unjustly fallen victims to mad reaction, of its solidarity—moral solidarity in repeating its determination to defend the common ideals, and active solidarity in the ways and means which from time to time shall be considered useful and necessary;

Asks all the comrades not to lend themselves to any provocation which might even distantly furnish excuses for reprisals, and calls upon them to work actively to help the organizations maintain their efficiency and soon resume their activity on the syndical field for the defense of the interests of the workers, which have never been threatened so much as now.

Elections

The National Council of the General Federation of Labor, after examining the situation in Italy and carefully considering it;

In view of the fact that the political election fight has taken on an anti-union character with the entrance of the employers' organizations into the struggle;

Calls upon the proletariat to vote the Italian Socialist Party ballot in a disciplined manner.

Social Insurance

The National Council of the General Federation of Labor, convinced of the great importance of social insurance both as an immediate and worthy defense of the working-classes in the present politico-social order and as a means of reconstruction in the future, holding that it is to the interest of the syndical

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

movement to be represented on all the consultative bodies of the state, asks the executive committee and the bureau of the Federation for social legislation to promote debates and plans for the improvement and completion of existing laws, forming organizations for their application; and to obtain above all, with sickness insurance, the coordination of all forms of insurance.

Shop Committees

The National Council of the Federation of Labor, considering the postponement of the discussion on the problem of shop committees to another national council, pledges all the organizations to respect the discipline of the Federation and not to be initiators in the formation of shop committees which have political objects and aim to transform the structure of the unions and the functions of the workers' representatives in the factories.

Unemployment

The special convention called by the General Federation of Labor to discuss the acute problem of unemployment in Italy arrived at the following conclusions published in *Avanti* for April 1:

The Convention declares, first of all, that the present crisis is only one of the periodic phenomena of this nature due to capitalist economics and denounced by Socialist critics as attributable to the method of production by free individual initiative—free initiative which naturally turns to activities of the most profitable and easy sort, without taking into consideration the interests of society, especially those of the working class which after a period of intense production suffers involuntary unemployment, the harm of which cannot be entirely eradicated, whatever form of insurance may be adopted.

It declares that certain factors contribute particularly to aggravate the critical situation throughout the world:

1. The policy of oppression against Germany which forces upon that great industrial laboratory a diminution of productivity, thus preventing a great nation from taking the place in the world—the place of consumer of wealth as well as producer—which it held before the war, offering a large market for the products of the world;

2. The policy of suspicion and violence against the Russian Soviet Republic; a policy which prevents the resumption of trade which alone can provide that great country with the technical means for restoring the immense underground wealth and enormous agricultural resources, thus bringing unemployment in all the industries of the world, and distributing agricultural products in exchange. . . .

The Convention—while declaring that the phenomenon of periodic industrial crises cannot be completely eliminated until the division of society into classes is abolished and a method of collective production is established exclusively in the interest of society—considers that the organized proletariat must bend its own efforts to obtain the following concessions, which alone can restore national finance and, together with a sane policy of foreign trade, place production on a disciplined basis:

1. Trade union representation in industrial, commercial, agricultural, and banking concerns on the basis of the Federation's project presented to the Government, which includes control of employment and dismissal of workers;

2. Reduction of the interest tax on the public debt to 1 per cent with the consequent lightening of financial burdens, providing for the compensation of losses thereby incurred by charitable institutions, small savings institutions, public works, etc.:

3. State expropriation of sub-soil industries, public services, and all industries in which there is immediate possibility of turning the management over to skilled workers, issuing as compensation to private owners nominative titles to interest not exceeding 1 per cent;

4. Gradual expropriation of land for collective management by the workers' cooperatives, issuing as compensation to the present land-owners a nominative title to interest of 1 per cent;

5. Turning over to the communes and provinces the expropriation of landed property suitable for habitation, offices, commerce, etc., permitting in compensation the issue of titles to interest not exceeding 1 per cent, and prescribing the utilization of benefits thus derived for new buildings conforming to sanitary requirements, and for the encouragement of the formation of cooperatives, the maintenance of existing buildings, and the construction of new ones;

6. Taxation reform establishing a progressive tax which will strike effectively at increased incomes and not at those which represent useful labor;

7. Heavy inheritance tax, so that wealth will become collective property in less than three transfers.

With regard to immediate provision for alleviating the existing unemployment, the Convention, in view of the resolution recently adopted by the Central Committee of Manufacturers authorizing "the Manufacturers' Federation to get in touch with the leading workers' organizations to examine the situation relating to the labor problem," urged the General Federation of Labor to examine—together with the manufacturers—the problem of unemployment. *Avanti* summarizes its policy as follows:

It declares itself strongly in favor of a temporary reduction in working hours, provided that it is possible to obtain from the state unemployment subsidies in cases where there is no reduction in the working hours.

It asks for a special subsidy for all unemployed with a provision similar to that adopted during demobilization after the war; a special subsidy which would not annul that which goes legally to all workers who have already made twenty-four insurance payments. And it calls for the immediate formation and undertaking of a far-reaching program of public works to be turned over largely to workers' cooperatives; a thorough and practical program in spite of the necessary limitation of time. With regard to financing, the state can resort to the emergency methods which have to be adopted in times of public calamity, which must also include unemployment.

Election Manifestos in Italy

THE manifestos put out in the recent Italian Parliamentary elections are given below with the exception of the statement of the Communist Party, which was, unfortunately, not available at the time of publication. The number of seats won by the principal parties was as follows: Socialist 125, National Bloc 266, Peoples' Party 108, Communist 15.

I. Official Socialist Party

Workers!

The monarchy has dissolved the Chamber claiming an alleged change in public opinion, as if setting fire to the chambers of labor and the newspapers of the party, assaults upon syndical and cooperative organizations, and physical and moral acts of violence perpetrated with the knowledge and aid of the authorities against our men and against administrations that we have won represented a change in public opinion!

In fact, they are only the tangible sign of the crisis of a regime, when in the breaking up of legal and governmental unity the most primitive elementary forces are again set free. Even the boasted bourgeois "order," no longer able through its laws or even on grounds of legality to support an already outgrown capitalism which maintains its power only through methods of speculation and brokerage which have replaced the normal production and exchange of goods, and protectionist banking finance which has replaced true national economy—is forced to abandon legal methods to prevent you, workers,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from enjoying those elementary rights of inviolability of the home, personal liberty, freedom of assembly, and freedom of the press which the constitutional charter and the political revolution of '48 guaranteed to you.

Now, by announcing new electoral committees, the bourgeoisie is attempting another method: to mass all its political groups in a united internal front against the proletarian front. Its purpose is evident: to go backwards; to reduce wages and increase hours; to tear up their contracts with labor; to break up their organizations; to shift onto the working-class all the burdens of the war; to trample upon the returned soldiers and the mutilated war victims; to carry poverty, unemployment, emigration, and fear of the white terror to the limit; going back thirty years when capital governed competition only by means of the starvation wages which it paid its workers.

Let us accept the challenge. Through you and with you, workers of hand and brain, the Socialist Party enters the struggle serene and confident. . . .

WORKERS! COMRADES!

We have already won for the working-class a formidable social power which challenges that of the bourgeoisie, and with this the struggle continues on all fields. It has its unions for defense, and its party for the fight to the finish; it has its co-operatives for production and trade; it has its communes and provinces; and it has its group in Parliament.

To cooperate in strengthening this power of labor and to use all means to bring about the dictatorship of the proletariat, or rather to make a society founded on labor without possibility of exploitation, must be the duty of the Socialist Parliamentary group. . . .

FACTORY WORKERS! PEASANTS! OFFICE WORKERS!

Your party, the party of your victories, your hopes, and your wishes, asks you, without abandoning the daily work of defense and reinforcement of class organization—the surest protection for today and tomorrow—to carry on with equal enthusiasm the electoral battle, which is assuming such evident significance. The bourgeoisie is forming a "holy alliance" to keep the legitimate representatives of the proletariat out of Parliament. And, forgetful of the past, with senile obstinacy, is repeating "No passing beyond this point."

With you and for you the Socialist Party shall pass.

It triumphed over the Crispin reaction of 1894. It triumphed over the Pellouxian reaction of 1898. It triumphed over the Salandra reaction during the war. It will triumph over Giolittian reaction. Our weapon is the vote, which will turn their law against their violence.

It should not surprise you. If today we adopt the legal vote in answer to the illegalities of the parties of law and order, it means that the time is approaching when the law will be ourselves, defenders of the new social order, against the last cowardly attempts of a dead and superseded era. Stars cannot be hit with arrows; ideas cannot be killed by bombs. And socialism is more alive than ever.

Long live socialism!

Executive Committee of the Italian Socialist Party.
ALLESSANDRI, BACCI, BARATONO, BONFIGLIO, CLERICI, FIORITTO, MANTICA, MONTAWARI, MORTARA, PARPAGNOLI, PASSIGLI, PILATI, SERRATI, STOLFA, ZANNERINI

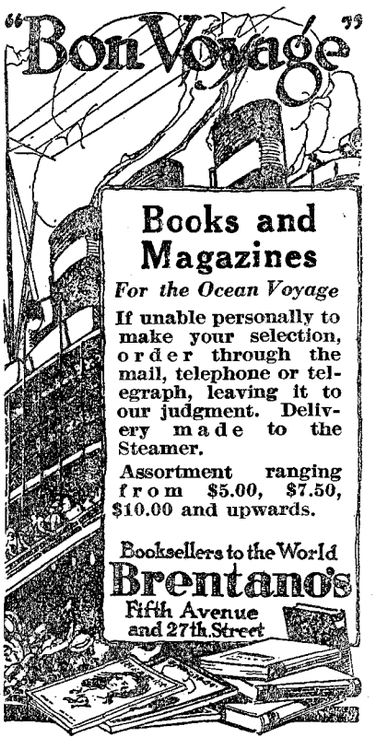
Rome, April 10, 1921

II. THE NATIONAL BLOC (GOVERNMENT COALITION)

EXPIATION!

The National Socialist Council, while deciding to take part in this electoral struggle, which for a moment it feared and tried to appear to scorn, repeats with inconclusive and evasive words its vain attempt to hide its own weakness: that is, it wishes to appear suppressed by the violence of its adversaries.

The poor Socialists seem to be victims of an odious and sanguine brutality! The bourgeoisie is said to be using "fascismo" to suffocate the voice of the proletariat, to oppress it, and


"Bon Voyage"
Books and Magazines
For the Ocean Voyage
If unable personally to make your selection, order through the mail, telephone or telegraph, leaving it to our judgment. Delivery made to the Steamer.
Assortment ranging from $5.00, $7.50, $10.00 and upwards.
Booksellers to the World
Brentano's
Fifth Avenue and 27th Street

THE

JAPAN NUMBER

OF THE

Manchester Guardian

PUBLISHED JUNE 9th, 1921,

Explains the present day character and psychology of the great Asiatic people that has made itself in two generations one of the Four Great Powers.

The leading figures of modern Japan describe the vast social, cultural and political process of adaptation that is taking place.

This number of 72 pages will be on sale at all news agents at the usual price. Copies can be obtained for sixpence post free, from The Manchester Guardian, Cross Street, Manchester, England.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to take away what it has gained by the sweat of its brow.

Never was a greater falsification of history attempted. No, it is not "fascismo" with its heroic group of young men who are courageously reacting against the violence, not always courageous, of those who, after driving the masses to ill-advised actions, intrench themselves behind the protection of the law and behind parliamentary medals. . . .

The Socialists are reaping today the bitter fruits of a propaganda of unscrupulous violence and the preaching of hate. They forget, in the moment of terror, that a courageous defense is being carried on against those who have not only against their fellow-citizens, but against their country, separating its members and destroying its prestige. Is it not they who have prevented Italy from reaping the fruits of victory, sealed with the blood of its 500,000 dead, and who, by strikes, violence, and seizure of the factories, have thrown the working-class into misery, and have discredited the country abroad?

Is it not they who, with disgusting arrogance, stopped the trains for a "carabiniere" to get out, or for a royal guard not to get out—those same royal guards and that same "carabiniere" from which, Socialist gentlemen, when your cowardice prompted you, you asked protection for Misiano, the deserter—the eternal fugitive—and for other rascals?

Italy was then in your hands. The fatal Nitti Government, which considered Fiume as foreign territory, and called the Ronchi grenadiers, Gabriele D'Annunzio, and the beautiful and heroic self-sacrifice of so many young men, traitors and treachery; the government of the weak and flabby Basilisk gave up the country to you.

You have forgotten the slaughters committed by your "Red Tribunals," which barbarously assassinated in an orgy of blood and terror in the name of a Soviet that died before it was born. But don't try because of that to escape your responsibility by putting them on a different plane. You are all equally to blame.

Italy, the country of sacrifice and resignation, is tired of you: a large part of the proletariat has repented, has understood that the road on to which you were pushing the working masses, hiding yourselves in safe by-paths, led to the abyss; it has seen you cowardly, perplexed, fleeing before danger.

Today the Socialist Party, and with it the Communist Party, is paying for its own blows, which were not gentle. We do not want violence, we do not want class-struggle, we reject all dictatorships.

Italy, the bourgeoisie, the great majority of the people, are today against the Socialist Party and the Federation of Labor, its humble hand-maid, not because they are defending the interests of the proletariat, which has a right to aspire to an ever better social position, but because they, by bringing ruin upon the nation, injure the proletariat most of all.

THE NATIONAL BLOC

III. THE PEOPLES' PARTY

HONEST AND FREE ELECTORS!

The Italian Peoples' Party has entered the struggle serenely for an idea, with its program of moral and social reconstruction. It does not intend to reduce this civil struggle to a miserable rivalry of manifestos. Its only faith lies in the good sense of the electors.

The Peoples' Party leaves it to other parties to spend the millions which constitute perhaps their only stronghold, and to carry on the struggle by unjust methods. The electors must answer and protest against the calumnies and violences attempted against their own men by voting for the shield with the cross.

The Peoples' Party rejects monopoly, both of the tricolor and of patriotism; to those who doubt the sincerity of its spirit of Italianism,, it replies that love of one's country is shown by deeds and is taught by educating the people and not by giving examples of hatred of our brothers and mean violence.

Neither reaction nor revolution!

All to the polls for the Peoples' Party!

Long life Italy!

The Nobility of Violence

IN *Il Popolo D' Italia* (Milan), the daily paper of the Fascisti, edited by Benito Mussolini, this interesting explanation of the rapid growth of the Fascist movement and its relative success at the polls was printed shortly after the general election on May 15:

The fact can best be explained by applying the concepts of violence that Sorel developed magnificently. It was the "prestige of violence" that gave victory to Fascisti candidates. The great popular mass submitted to the fascination of violence, which is the creator of valor and the resuscitator of enthusiasms. They felt this fascination because violence releases in those that exercise it personal bravery, the exercise of energy and will, makes them superior to danger, and has therefore the nobility and beauty of every ideal force.

If the Italian Socialists had read Proudhon they would have known what admiration this great revolutionary had for Force and how he studied it, sifting through all the immense fecundity of social facts in search for it.

At the bottom of the present Fascisti victory one encounters a case of *force that creates right.* The error of the Socialists is that of believing that in violence there may be an exercise of pure and simple brute force. It is this error—psychological and moral—to which the Socialist Party must ascribe its incapacity to offer adequate resistance to the Fascisti.

Violence is never simply brute force, being always the effect of a passion (we speak, naturally, of collective, political violence) and so it is ridiculous to attempt to explain fascismo with the offensive interpretations that the Socialists give it. The Socialist defeat is the logical effect of long years of affirmations which while exciting base material instincts in the masses, completely neglected every spiritual and moral factor. The Socialist propaganda did not transform the workers into awakened men; it did not give them a will or a passion. It only made of them men well organized, disciplined, and brutalized, conditioning this supine attitude on the realization of salary augmentations.

When you have said high salary you have said the whole Socialist propaganda. The chamber of labor is an instrument for raising salaries and nothing else. It is a shop. And because of this monstrous ignoring of every ideal factor and of every sense of extra-material dignity the Fascisti have been able to destroy numerous chambers of labor *without one sole worker* having the will to sacrifice his life to defend them.

Socialist propaganda hasn't been able to give to the masses a single throb of a faith that would inspire sacrifice. Beautiful result! And one must realize, moreover, that the masses are much better than their leaders, that they have a strong idealistic residue, even if they are still in the great majority faithful to the ideas of socialism.

The victory of the Fascisti is therefore the effect of the force that they have known how to use for the defense of their ideas in the past months. The Fascisti enter Parliament with a notable group which, perhaps, will be called upon to sustain a decisive part, if they navigate straight and don't entangle themselves in the subtleties of grand politics. We believe that this is the moment in which fascismo should clarify some points of its program. A constructive conception is necessary, although one recognizes that this is a necessity indeed difficult to supply.

Fascismo was born with a negative program, as a reaction to the socialist line of conduct that had no concrete value. Fascismo was for maximalism what the strait-jacket is for the agitated body of the maniac. It did not have to meet program with program, idea with idea. It was a knotty club, largely used to correct the defects of others. In its salutary activities men of diverse tendencies and origin participated, because there was no need for a special etiquette. Today, suddenly, fascismo has become a political party that must func-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion in Parliament. It is an imperious and immediate duty for it to analyze itself, define itself, and to act as an organic force in public life.

The problem can be resolved through successive approximations. It would be an error to think that fascismo must write its program with all the planks complete, corresponding to all the exigencies of national life. Fascismo must instead define several fundamentals for its future action.

First, modification of our tactics in relation to the Socialist Party and the ex-maximalism, suspending the use of violence and returning to the terrain of legality. . . . It is at present evident that the violence of the Fascisti, along with the economic crisis and the passing of the Lenin myth, has brusquely modified the revolutionary mentality of the party. The defeat of the Communists is a sign that at present every revolutionary velleity is set. To persist in strong methods would be superfluous and therefore dangerous.

The article concludes with the recommendation that fascismo become the representative of the "middle class," which includes consumers and tax-payers. This class, it is pointed out, is the most numerous in the land but at present is hardly at all represented in Parliament which, instead, looks after the interests of the plutocrats and the working class. Fascismo could have, "gathering to itself as much of sanity and worth as the bourgeoisie salvaged from the war," a great mission in contemporary Italy.

Fascisti Tactics

AVANTI, for April 8, prints the following:

Without a word of comment we print below two letters addressed by the Fascisti of Florence to the mayor of the communal administration of Montepulciano:

DEAR SIR:

In my speech of the 19th inst. in this region I instructed you and the council to resign, in order to liberate the town of your ridiculous presence. You have not complied with my request, and yet you know that we are not joking. If the little intelligence you have is sufficient to enable you to go over the newspapers you will realize that we are in the habit of keeping our promises. Only a few days ago we were nearer to you than you can imagine, ready to jump at the first complaint. Therefore, I send you another secret warning to get out of the municipal buildings which have been stained so long by your idiotic presence and the even more idiotic presence (if such a thing is possible) of your colleagues. If you do not carry out my command, you will suffer for it. Remember that the Fascisti do not waste time joking, and beware. I am awaiting your public resignations. Come on! Hooray!

March 31, 1921 GINO PERRONE COMPAGNI

ITALIAN BAND OF FIGHTERS
POLITICAL REGIONAL SECRETARY
FLORENCE, APRIL 2

COMMUNAL ADMINISTRATION OF MONTEPULCIANO:

The brief period granted you for your resignation is nearly over. We are not given to idle gossip when it is a question of freeing our Italy from all those who stain her soil. We repeat to you: the hour has come for you to flee. I await your communications on the subject before midnight, Wednesday, April 6. Accept my kind thanks and cordial greetings.

GINO PERRONE COMPAGNI

Next Week
In *The Nation*—

With Bomb and Ballot: The Italian Elections
By Eugene Lyons

An article on which the foregoing documents have a direct bearing.

Practically immediate relief of pain follows a dose of

Midol

It is equally efficacious for
HEADACHE
TOOTHACHE
NEURALGIA

—and in addition to being absolutely safe to take
—it has no undesirable after effects.

In aluminum boxes
2 sizes. At all druggists

General Drug Co.
94 N. Moore Street, New York

Bondholders!

Thousands of investors own bonds bought at high levels. Few grasp the full possibilities shrewd exchanges present.

We have prepared a special letter giving a plan whereby low-yielding bonds may be profitably exchanged into high-yielding issues. Also describing use of dormant purchasing power adopted by the keenest traders.

Write Dept. NO for "Bond Exchanges"

L. L. WINKELMAN & CO.
62 Broad Street New York
Telephone Broad 6470
Branch Offices in Leading Cities. *Direct Wires to Various Markets*

FREE

Index to Stock Values

We are distributing, free of charge, a 272-page book containing up-to-date information, vital to investors and traders, on several thousand companies whose stocks and bonds are dealt in on twenty leading markets of the United States and Canada.

Ask for Book NN-68

E. M. FULLER & CO.
Members of Consolidated Stock Exchange of New York
50 BROAD STREET NEW YORK
Chicago Cleveland Pittsburgh Newark Boston
(*Direct Private Wire*)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WHY GO FAR?
Watchung Mountains are 45 minutes from New York.
Hilltop Farm is situated on one of these mountains, about 600 feet elevation. Beautiful scenery, fine shade trees, excellent food, all improvements. Address, Watchung, N. J., Somerset Co.
S. GOPAN, Prop.
Phone Plainfield 2399-R.
Directions: Take Jersey Central R.R. to Plainfield, N. J., via Liberty Street, or W. 23d Street Ferry.

Camp Oratamin
BLAUVELT, NEW YORK
Among the hills of Rockland County, on a beautiful 500 acre estate, offers 20 boys and girls the happiest, most healthful and instructive summer possible. Booklet on request.

Goldthwaite Inn, Bellport, L. I., on Great South Bay. Cool, comfortable, charming. farm gardens. Sports, tennis, golf, sailing, bathing.

"BELL SYSTEM"
AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY
AND ASSOCIATED COMPANIES
One Policy, One System, Universal Service, and all directed toward Better Service

WANTED.—Experienced writer to revise manuscript of personal memoirs. Box 116, The Nation.

HARVARD graduate (M. A.), studied also abroad, master German language, with experience along educational and executive lines, wishes to connect with educational institution. Highest references concerning character and qualifications. Address Suite 400, 503 Fifth Avenue, N. Y.

WOMAN journalist, magazine writer and translator, close connection with foreign authors and publishers, will execute commissions abroad for publishers, play brokers, libraries. Write Box 115, The Nation.

BE AN AMBASSADOR OF PEACE
BY
URGING YOUR FRIENDS TO SUBSCRIBE REGULARLY
TO
THE NATION
20 VESEY STREET, NEW YORK
DON'T WAIT DO IT NOW

SPEAKERS: We assist in preparing special articles, papers, speeches, debates. Expert, scholarly service. AUTHORS RESEARCH BUREAU, 500 Fifth Avenue, New York.

The Books of
JAMES BRANCH CABELL
Figures of Earth
3rd printing, $2.50
Beyond Life
4th printing, $2
The Cream of the Jest
3rd printing, $2
The Cords of Vanity
Revised Edition
2nd printing, $2
Domnei
Revised Edition, $2
The Rivet in Grandfather's Neck
4th printing, $2
At all Bookstores or sent upon receipt of price plus postage by the publishers.
Robert M. McBride & Company, 7 West 16th Street, New York.

SEXUAL PROBLEMS OF TO-DAY
$2
Every *married* man or woman or those intending to be married *must* read this remarkable new book on the sex problem.
"SEXUAL PROBLEMS OF TODAY" is written by Dr. William J. Robinson of New York, a scientist of World Wide reputation and the foremost authority on sex problems in all its phases. In this book he *answers* the intimate sex questions that at one time or another confront every man or woman. This book by Dr. Robinson will give you information that has never been *publicly* printed before.
One person writes: "If I had this book before I was married it would have saved me a lifetime of misery."
"Sexual Problems of Today"
contains 320 pages consisting of 76 chapters of vital interest and is printed on fine paper in clear type and beautifully cloth bound.
The price is only $2.00 sent prepaid.
Secure your copy now while we have the privilege of sending it to you. Order at once. Don't delay.
TRUTH PUBLISHING CO.
1400 Broadway Dept. 16 S. P. New York

UNIQUE TALKS
Are given by Frank Harris at his studio every Wednesday and Sunday evening at 8:30—talks on the men who stand out from their century, who have written their works on the pages of eternity. Frank Harris has written a deathless book on Shakespeare, which proves him capable of painting his chief contemporaries, whom he knew intimately. His biography of Wilde is famous. You really cannot afford to overlook these lectures. Come to the next and you will attend them all.
Wednesday, June 29—London Experiences: Lady Brounlowe, Margot Asquith, Clare Sheridan.
Sunday, July 3—Great Explorers: Richard Burton, Du Chaillu, and Others.
AT 57 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

HOW TO LIVE TODAY
In order to keep healthy, and how to avoid the healing swindlers of all sorts—that is what you learn through RATIONAL LIVING, the radical independent health magazine, 61 Hamilton Place, New York. Editor, B. Liber, M. D., D. P. H. 40 cents a copy. Trial subscription 3 copies $1.10. No free sample copies. Sold in important book stores in U. S. and Canada. In New York at Brentano's, Rand School and Maisel's.
Dr. Liber's book on the bringing up of children, *"The Child and the Home,"* $2.50. Advance subscription $2.00. The book together with yearly subscription to Rational Living, $5.00 instead of $6.50.

EINSTEIN EXPLAINED
Our great booklet explains clearly, in popular language that anyone can understand, all about the Einstein Theory. After reading our booklet, you, too, will be able to discuss it intelligently with your friends or family, at your club, at dinner, or any other business or social gathering. Price 50 cents; check, M. O., cash or stamps.
CURRENT TOPICS SERVICE
1701A MADISON AVE., BALTIMORE, MD.

Bind your copies of
The Nation
in a strongly made, cloth covered binder. A convenient and orderly way in which to keep each volume of The Nation as completed.
Sent postpaid for $1.00
20 Vesey Street New York City

FRENCH BOOKS
Most complete stock in America
Our new catalogue is now ready. Send for our Book Club plan.
SCHOENHOF'S 15 Beacon St., Boston, Mass

THE MANHOOD OF HUMANITY
ALFRED KORZYBSKI'S epoch-making book on Human Engineering is just published by DUTTON

LITERARY ASSISTANCE. SPEAKERS, WRITERS, LECTURERS assisted on special topics
Prompt scholarly aid extended. Write us your needs
HERALD PUBLICITY SERVICE, 1401 Bristol Building, NEW YORK

THEATRE GUILD PRODUCTIONS
Mr. PIM Passes By
By A. A. Milne
With Notable Cast
GARRICK THEATRE
35th St., E. of B'way.
"LILIOM"
By Franz Molnar
English text by Benj. F. Glazer
FULTON THEATRE
West 46th Street

THE SHOP BOOK is a new publication edited by the same people who formerly put out the International Socialist Review, killed by Mr. Burleson. Number 1, just ready, contains an article on "The World Situation," by Herman Cahn, author of "Capital Today," showing why revolution in continental Europe may be expected soon. Also extracts from private letters with inside facts about the situation in Germany and Japan, an article from S. J. Rutgers on the economics of Soviet Russia, and a variety of other interesting matter. Price 10c a copy, $6.00 a hundred. No yearly subscriptions solicited at present. Send 50c for eight copies of No. 1, and ask your friends to read it. Book catalog free.
CHARLES H. KERR & CO., 347 East Ohio Street, CHICAGO

THE MODERN LIBRARY OF THE WORLD'S BEST BOOKS
New titles frequently added—almost 100 now.
Don't be a Stagnuck—read The Modern Library.
Hand-bound, in limp "croft-leather" 95¢ a vol.
BONI & LIVERIGHT • 105 W. 40th St. NEW YORK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED